

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series C - No. 32

DALY FAMILY LANGUAGES, AUSTRALIA

by

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First published 1974. Reprinted 1981.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for help in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 106 6

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the fieldwork undertaken as the basis of this study and during the analysis and writing-up stages I have become indebted to many persons and institutions, without whose assistance this work would not have seen the light of day. First I must express my thanks to the Australian National University and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies whose financial support made possible the fieldwork undertaken mainly between 1967 and 1970.

In Darwin I am most grateful to the then Department of Social Welfare and its Director, Mr H.C. Giese for his support and co-operation. I would also like to express my appreciation to Mr E.P. Milliken, Director of Welfare Research, and to Mrs A. Campbell. Father J. O'Carrigan formerly of the Daly River Mission very kindly provided accommodation from time to time and rendered considerable assistance in the selection of informants.

I should like to thank Professor W. Hoddinott of the University of New England for his careful reading of the manuscript, especially the sections dealing with the Tyemerri and Brinken Groups, and for his valuable comments and criticisms. Mr D. Birk, too, contributed substantially by his comments and suggestions in the section dealing with the Mulluk Group. My sincere thanks to both of these scholars.

At the Australian National University I must thank my colleagues Professor S.A. Wurm and Dr D.C. Laycock for their suggestions and encouragement at all stages of the project.

Finally, and most importantly, I tender my sincere thanks to my many Aboriginal friends from the Daly River to Darwin, on Missions, Government Settlements and other camps for their unfailing patience, co-operation and understanding.

Canberra 1973.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU	affix unit
aux.	auxiliary
CA/comp.act.	completed action
cont.	continuous
cl.	classifier
dl.	dual
excl.	exclusive
Fut.	future
Immed.	immediate
incl.	inclusive
Inst.	instrument
IO	indirect object
L	location
NF/non.fut.	non-future
O	object/direct object
OM	object marker
p.c.	present continuous
pl.	plural
pres.	present
prev.act.	previous action
S	subject
T	time
VS	verb stem
+	obligatory
±	optional

INTRODUCTION

The Daly Language Family is located in northern Australia, roughly one hundred miles south-west of Darwin on and around the Daly River. It consists of nine distinct languages and numerous dialects, classified in the table on page viii.

The following criteria, following Wurm 1972:110, have been adopted for this classification:

A cognate density of 16%-25% for different Groups of the same phyllic Family; 26%-50% for different subgroups of the same Group. 51%-70% for different languages or family-like languages of the same subgroup; over 71% for different dialects of the same language. The table of shared cognate densities appears in table form on page ix.

Aims: The present study updates all previous publications by the present writer on the languages of the Daly River area. These include Tryon 1968 and 1970a and b. An attempt has been made, apart from revising the lexico-statistical classification presented in Tryon 1968, to provide outline grammars for all of the member languages and dialects of the Daly Family, so that comparisons with other Australian Aboriginal languages may be made. The whole is followed by a comparative two hundred word list and an overview of the principal features of the Daly Family as a whole.

Form: Apart from the lexico-statistical data provided, the bulk of the work consists of sketch grammars. Each grammar is written as a separate entity and contains an outline of the following features:

1. Variant names and spellings.
2. Previously published linguistic information.
3. A tentative phonemic inventory.

4. An account of noun classification and concord within each particular language.
5. Postpositions (other noun morphology).
6. A listing of pronouns subject, object and indirect object where applicable.
7. Verb morphology, with particular reference to:
 - a. Verb classes.
 - b. Direct object.
 - c. Indirect object.
 - d. Negation.
8. Other word classes, including:
 - a. Numerals.
 - b. Interrogatives.
 - c. Adverbs.
9. A brief account of most common word ordering within the sentence.
10. A bibliography (individual bibliographies rather than a single general bibliography have been provided).

The above features are treated in the same order in each of the grammar outlines for ease of comparison.

State of languages: Nearly half of the languages represented in this study are on the point of extinction. Only Marithiel, Ngangikurrunggurr and Wadyiginy have more than a handful of speakers. These languages should survive for some years. It was because of the precarious state of the Daly River languages that this study was undertaken, so that some documentation could be provided while the opportunity was still available. Depth studies are at present being undertaken in Mullukmulluk, Ngangikurrunggurr and Wadyiginy by other fieldworkers. However, the opportunity for this type of research is fast disappearing for the remaining members of the Family, and in the case of languages such as Yunggor, Kamor and Tyeraity has already disappeared with the death of the last surviving speakers during the last two years.

Fieldwork: The present study is based on fieldwork carried out in the Northern Territory for approximately six months in 1967 and a similar period in 1969. Since that time fieldwork of shorter duration has been undertaken, mainly for purposes of checking information gathered during the two major periods of fieldwork.

Overview: The section which follows the individual outline grammars and comparative wordlists is intended as a brief summary and discussion of the principal characteristics of the Daly Family as a whole. Comparative summary tables bring together the main features of phonology, morphology and syntax and in general terms an examination is made of

the morphological groupings that emerge. These groupings will be seen to be substantially the same as those arrived at lexicostatistically.¹

General Note: The materials presented in this study are of necessity tentative, especially in the area of phonology, with the exception of Maranunggu² and Pungupungu, which the present writer has studied in depth. Much of the remaining material has, however, been examined by linguists currently engaged in depth studies of other Daly Family languages. Their studies and comments have proved invaluable.

¹While the groupings arrived at by lexicostatistical methods are clear-cut on the levels of sub-group, language and dialect, see p. viii, at the group level the picture is unsatisfactory, since there is a certain degree of overlap between the 'groups' set up. This situation is perhaps not unexpected, since higher level groupings reached by lexicostatistical means alone have been shown to be rather unreliable in the Australian language context. The three 'groups' which appear on page viii are therefore based as much on comparative morphological as lexical material, and will be seen to be borne out as the comparative grammatical evidence is presented.

²Maranunggu was used as the language of elicitation for some of the material presented here, where the informants' knowledge of English was inadequate for the communication of points of detail.

FAMILY:

D A L Y

GROUP:

Mulluk

Brinken-Wogaity

Tyemeri

SUB-GROUP:

Mulluk

Daly

Brinken

Maranunggu

Wogaity

Tyemeri

LANGUAGE:

Mullukmulluk

Tyeraity

Matngala

Maramanandji

Marengar

Marithiel

Maranunggu

Pungupungu

Ngangikurrunggurr

DIALECTS:

{ Matngala
Yunggor
Kamor }

{ Marithiel
Marityabin
MareAmmu
Maridan }

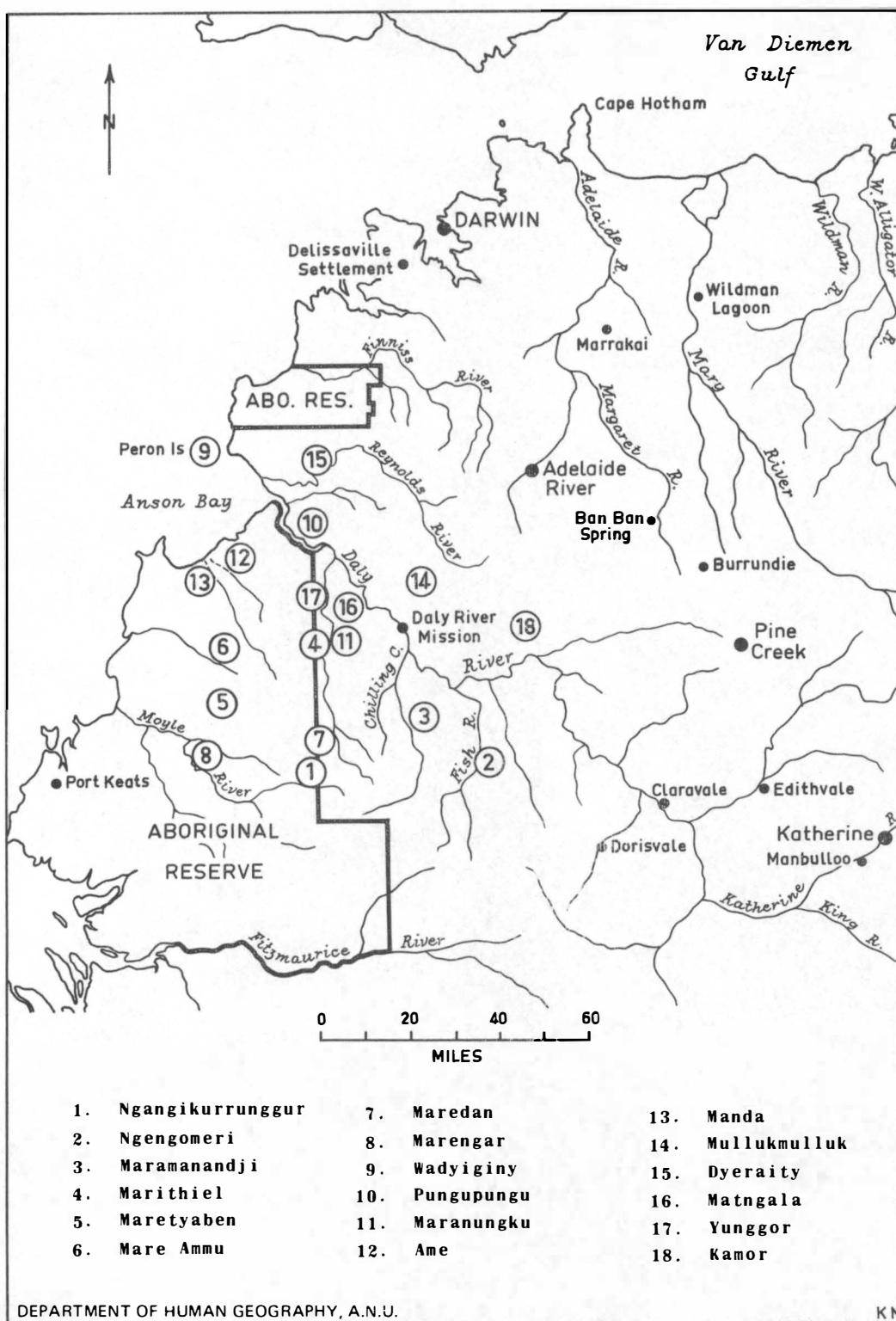
{ Maranunggu
Ami
Manda }

{ Pungupungu
Wadyiginy
Batyamal }

{ Ngangikurrunggurr
Ngengomeri }

	1	2	3	3a	3b	4	4a	4b	4c	5	6	7	7a	7b	8	8a	9	9a
1. Mullukmulluk		65	45	48	42	16	15	16	16	14	15	27	24	21	33	28	22	16
2. Tyeraity	65		41	45	40	17	15	16	15	19	16	26	30	28	36	35	19	18
3. Matngala	45	41		80	75	21	19	18	19	18	18	29	27	26	35	29	20	18
3a. Yunggor	48	45	80		72	20	17	18	16	20	17	29	25	30	33	30	19	19
3b. Kamor	42	40	75	72		21	18	18	20	20	18	29	25	26	35	28	20	20
4. Marithiel	16	17	21	20	21		84	88	89	63	68	51	44	45	22	20	32	33
4a. Marityabin	15	15	19	17	18	84		85	83	56	68	44	42	44	21	18	31	30
4b. MareAmmu	16	16	18	18	18	88	85		84	58	70	48	42	45	23	19	33	34
4c. Maridan	16	15	19	16	20	89	83	84		64	67	47	43	45	22	18	35	34
5. Maramanandji	14	19	18	20	20	63	56	58	64		54	46	40	41	20	17	32	34
6. Marengar	15	16	18	17	18	68	68	70	67	54		39	35	34	19	16	35	35
7. Maranunggu	27	26	29	29	29	51	44	48	47	46	39		72	72	37	32	30	30
7a. Ami	24	30	27	25	25	44	42	42	43	40	35	72		86	34	39	30	27
7b. Manda	21	28	26	30	26	45	44	45	45	41	34	72	86		34	33	29	23
8. Pungupungu	33	36	35	33	35	22	21	23	22	20	19	37	34	34		79	20	21
8a. Wadyiginy	28	35	29	30	28	20	18	19	18	17	16	32	39	33	79		18	18
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	22	19	20	19	20	32	31	33	35	32	35	30	30	29	20	18		84
9a. Ngengomeri	16	18	18	19	20	33	30	34	34	34	35	30	27	23	21	18	84	

DALY FAMILY - PERCENTAGES OF SHARED COGNATES



THE DALY LANGUAGE FAMILY (AREA N) - D. T. TRYON

A. MULLUK GROUP

i) Mulluk Sub-Group

1. Mullukmulluk
2. Tyeraity

ii) Daly Sub-Group

3. Matngala
- 3a. Yunggor
- 3b. Kamor

1. MULLUKMULLUK

1.1. GENERAL

Mullukmulluk has a large number of variant names and spellings as follows: Mullukmulluk, Malagmalag, Mullik-Mullik, Mollak-mollak, Malack-malack, Mulluc-Mulluc, Mallackmallack, Ngolok-Wangar, Ngululwanga and Ngulugwanga.

Mullukmulluk is spoken to-day by a maximum of forty to fifty Aborigines, most of whom reside at or near Wooliana on the north side of the Daly River. Capell (1963) situates them on the northern bank of the river, with the boundary of their territory about sixty miles from the mouth. Stanner (1933:382) agrees with Capell, but adds that the Mullukmulluk territory also extended at an earlier period across to the south bank.

Of all the languages within the Daly Family, Mullukmulluk is probably the best studied by earlier writers, as the length of the sectional bibliography attests. The first notes on the Mullukmulluk language appear in Schmidt (1902:104). S.H. Ray in 1909 published a short article on the language based on notes taken by the resident missionary at the Daly River, Father Conrath. This includes some notes on morphology plus a wordlist of approximately seventy five items (Ray 1909:137-141). Capell and Elkin (1937:232) list the Mullukmulluk modifier classes and the personal pronouns. Their work appears to be based on the earlier notes of Schmidt. Capell (1937:38-9) in another article mentions the pronominal system once more. In his 1940 "Classification of Languages in North and North-West Australia", Capell (1940:263) discusses Mullukmulluk noun classes and gives a wordlist of some twenty

items. A Father W. Flynn also wrote an unpublished and undated grammatical outline of the language. This is reportedly at the University of Sydney.

A ninety five item wordlist also appeared in the present writer's survey of all the languages which constitute the Daly Family (Tryon 1968). Notes on verb morphology were also made in a brief structural comparison of the languages of this group (Tryon 1970b).

In the two major surveys of Australian languages, the Mullukmulluk language is listed as N51 in Capell (1963) and as No. 41 in Oates and Oates (1970).

Although there appears to be a reasonable body of literature on Mullukmulluk, none of the earlier published writers treated the verb classes and much of the other information which they gave was at times seriously misleading. Further reference will be made to this point below

Within the Daly Family, Mullukmulluk is a member of the Mulluk Group, and within this is a member of the Mulluk Subgroup, along with Tyeraity. The percentage of shared cognates with other members of the group is as follows:

	Mullukmulluk	Tyeraity	Matngala	Kamor	Yunggor
Mullukmulluk	-	65%	45%	42%	48%

1.2. PHONEMES

A tentative list of the phonemes of Mullukmulluk is as follows:

a) Consonants:

p	t	tʷ	k ¹
m	n	nʷ	ŋ
w	l	lʷ	
	r	y	
	R ²		

b) Vowels:

i	u
ö	
e	a

¹Stops are normally voiced in intervocalic position. Where they are voiceless, they have been interpreted as germinate. This interpretation is supported by morphological evidence, see 1.5.; the preceding remark applies to all the members of the Daly Family.

²/R/ represents an alveolar flap or trill, while /r/ is a continuant (median resonant).

1.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

1.3.1. Noun Phrases

1.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

Unmodified nouns are divided into four classes in the same way as most of the other members of the Daly Family. The classes are indicated by prefixes as follows:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) te- | with animals hunted for meat. |
| 3) mi- | with plants and vegetable food. |
| 4) tvöŋ | with trees and wooden objects. |

Examples:

puntu	<i>head</i>
inin	<i>nose</i>
te-tveyöt	<i>red kangaroo</i>
te-ŋalʏl	<i>skin</i>
mi-marKa	<i>flower</i>
mi-numuRu	<i>fruit seed</i>
tvöŋ-meR	<i>ironwood</i>

With adjectives there are four classes which overlap with but are not identical to the four unmodified noun classes. These are indicated by the following prefixes:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1) yɪ-, yun-, yik- | used with parts of the body, male humans, living animals, European tools and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) nö-, nun-, nik- | used with feminine nouns. |
| 3) mö-, mun-, mik- | used with food, weapons for catching food, food containers, including <i>stomach</i> . |
| 4) wö-, wun-, wlk- | used with trees, camps and objects associated with travel. |

The allomorphs are morphophonemically conditioned.

Examples of usage:

muyinʏ yinali	<i>big dog</i>
yinʏa yinali	<i>big man</i>
alawar nönali	<i>big woman</i>
pönʏ mönali	<i>big belly</i>
tek wöнали	<i>big camp</i>
muyinʏ yunpayin	<i>good dog</i>
alawar nunpayin	<i>good woman</i>

tʏaŋar munpayin	<i>good spear</i>
tʏöŋ wunpayin	<i>good tree</i>
muyinʏ yikpi	<i>small dog</i>
alawar nikpi	<i>small woman</i>
tʏaŋar mikpi	<i>small spear</i>
yeRl wikpi	<i>small road</i>

The two systems overlap as follows:

- Nouns of class 1 (Ø-) most often take the modifier class prefix yɪ-, although less frequently they take nö- or wö-.
- Nouns of class 2 (te-) always take the modifier class prefix yɪ-.
- Nouns of class 3 (mi-) always take the modifier class prefix mö-.
- Nouns of class 4 (tʏöŋ-) most often take the modifier class prefix wö-, although they also take mö- where the wooden object is used for obtaining food.

This may be resumed in the following table:

Class 1 (Ø-) yɪ-, nö-, wö-
Class 2 (te-) yɪ-
Class 3 (mi-) mö-
Class 4 (tʏöŋ-) wö-, mö-

The system appears relatively simple, but is greatly complicated by the fact that the great majority of nouns in this subgroup belong to Class 1.

Two other observations about Mullukmulluk adjectives are required. These are:

- When an adjective modifies a plural noun it often undergoes partial or complete reduplication.

Example:

muyinʏ yunpayin	<i>good dog</i>
muyinʏ yunpanpan	<i>good dogs</i>

- The modifier classes described above apply only to the most commonly used adjectives, such as good, bad, long, short etc. With other adjectives there is no concord.

Examples:

te ŋapma	<i>raw meat</i>
walk puŋma	<i>white stone</i>

1.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

There are no noun classes for possession. The possessive phrase is composed of a noun head followed by the normal subject pronoun. For subject pronouns, see below, 1.4. Earlier writers, especially Capell and Elkin (1937:235) quoting Schmidt (1909:172) claimed that there were four noun classes for possession. For example, they cite: alalk ŋamain,

my child and *mi ɲanö, my food*. In fact, the *-main* (*manʸ*) means *from* and the *nö* is a benefactive. The usage of these suffixes will be outlined in the next section, on postpositions.

Examples:

puntu ɲa	<i>my head</i>
alaik ɲa	<i>my child</i>
muyinʸ ɲa	<i>my dog</i>
mi ɲa	<i>my food</i>
wenti waɲaRi	<i>your canoe</i>
waRi waɲaRi	<i>your basket</i>
tek yenki	<i>our (dl) camp</i>

It is to be noted that the first person pronoun *ɲawe, I*, is abbreviated to *ɲa* in possessive phrases. When emphasis is sought, the suffixes *-nö* and *manʸ* may be used. It must be stressed, however, that they do not exhibit concord with the possessed noun.

With noun possessors, the possessor precedes the possessed, as in the following example:

alaik numuRu	<i>child face (the child's face)</i>
--------------	--------------------------------------

1.3.2. Other Substantive Morphology

Postpositions play an important role in Mullukmulluk and have a variety of functions, especially in word formation. The more common postpositions are as follows:

- 1) *-waɲ by or with*, instrumental marker

Examples:

muyinʸ	taytʸ	a-ya-nö	walk-waɲ
[dog	hit	I-hand-him	stone-with]
<i>I hit the dog with a stone.</i>			

pentʸI	ɲawe	nənʸilk-waɲ	taytʸ	a-ya-nö
[yesterday	I	hand-with	hit	I-hand-him]
<i>Yesterday I hit him with my hand.</i>				

- 2) *-yan with*

This suffix is productive in forming nouns, adjectives and verbs.

Examples:

alawar yinʸa-yan	<i>woman man-with = married woman</i>
tömöl-yan	<i>testicles-with = bullock</i>
pawuRk wak-yan	<i>ground water-with = wet ground</i>
tʸawör-yan	<i>ear-with = to know, hear</i>

3) -manʸ from, because of, instrument marker

Examples:

muyinʸ-manʸ ali taR yi-minʸ-arinʸ
 [dog-from leg bite he-hand-me]

The dog bit my leg.

te nʸukma-manʸ meat rotten from = because of rotten meat
 tʸöŋ-yinŋa-manʸ tree in from = from in the tree

Note that -manʸ may be used in conjunction with other postpositions, but that when it does it always occurs last.

4) -inŋa or yinŋa in, at, to

-inŋa is suffixed to nouns ending in -k while yinŋa is used elsewhere.

Examples:

tek-inŋa	to the camp
wakwalk-inŋa	in the rockhole
walk-inŋa	on the stone
tʸöŋ-yinŋa	in the tree

5) -nö for, in order to

Example:

te-nö a-ta
 [meat-for I-go]
I want some beef.

Note that this suffix is the same as the third person singular object pronoun. With nouns of Class 3, -nö becomes -mö. With the other three classes, however, -nö is used.

Example:

wak-mö mentem a-ya
 [water-for thirsty I-hand]
I am thirsty.

1.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The Mullukmulluk subject and object pronouns are listed below. As with the other members of the Daly Family, the subject pronouns are free forms, while object pronouns are invariably bound. They are as follows:

	Subject	Object
<i>I</i>	ɲawe	-arinʸ
<i>you</i>	waɲaRi	-nunu
<i>he</i>	yöntön	-nö
<i>she</i>	nöntön	-ɲayi
<i>we incl.</i>	yeRkit	-aRpuRu
<i>we excl.</i>	yewöt	-yörö
<i>you pl.</i>	nukut	-nuŋkuRu
<i>they</i>	wöröntön	-wörö
<i>we two incl.</i>	yeŋki	-nuŋku

The only independent dual form is *yeŋki we two* inclusive. All other dual forms consist of the plural pronoun followed by the dualising suffix -wöntöt.

Examples:

yewöt	<i>we plural excl.</i>	yewöt-wöntöt	<i>we two excl.</i>
nukut	<i>you plural</i>	nukut-wöntöt	<i>you two</i>
wöröntön	<i>they</i>	wöröntön-wöntöt	<i>they two</i>

Previous writers, especially Schmidt (1902) and Capell (1937) also listed separate dual pronoun forms. In Capell (1937:39) the dual forms differ from the plural only in that the dual forms have the vowel [o], while the plural forms all have [ö]. Thus he lists: *nuŋot, you dual* and *nuŋöt, you plural*. As there is no phonemic contrast between [o] and [ö] in Mullukmulluk the distinction described by Capell, probably following Schmidt, is at best doubtful. If it did exist at that time, it is certainly no longer in existence with present day Mullukmulluk speakers. Many of the other forms also listed by Capell have not been found in current Mullukmulluk.

With the third person singular, there are two other free forms not listed above. These are *möntön* and *wöntön, it*, the former being used with plants and vegetable food and the latter with trees and natural objects. These, however, occur very rarely as free forms and normally occur as part of the affix unit complex which follows the verb stem, see below. Their dual and plural equivalents have never been heard by the present writer, but may previously have existed in the forms listed by Capell.

The emphatic form of the subject pronoun is formed by the suffix -te. Thus, *yöntön, he*, but *yöntönte, he emphatic*, *nöntön, she*, but *nöntönte, she emphatic*.

1.5. THE VERB

1.5.1. Verb Classes

There are five verb classes in Mullukmulluk, as is the case with all members of the Mulluk Group. The classes, indicated by different affix units, are as follows:

- 1) Actions performed mainly, though not always, with the hands.
- 2) Actions mainly performed sitting down.
- 3) Actions mainly performed standing up.
- 4) Actions mainly performed lying down.
- 5) Actions performed on the move.

The great majority of verbs belong to the first class.

The verb consists of a verb stem, which is always a free form, followed by an affix unit which is phonologically independent of the free form. In fact, the affix unit alone may constitute a meaningful utterance in its own right. It is composed of morphemes indicating the actor, type of action and tense or aspect.

Example:

pentvi	gawe	weRk-ma	a-nu-wa
[yesterday	I	cry-state	I-sit-comp.act.]

I was crying yesterday.

From the above example it may be seen that the free form indicates the particular action that is being performed (crying), while the affix unit describes the general field of action in which the crying is being done (i.e. sitting). This structure is characteristic of every member of the Daly Family. As was stated above, the affix units may all, with the exception of class 1, constitute independent meaningful utterances. Thus *anuwa*, apart from its role as obligatory accompaniment of the verb stem *weRk*, independently means *I sat down*.¹

Apart from the occasions on which the verb means simply *to sit*, *lie* or *go* every Mullukmulluk sentence² contains a free verb stem form and an affix unit, the affix unit depending on the class of the free form.

The affix units for the five verb classes are set out in paradigm form below, for nonfuture, future and immediate future.

¹Affix units throughout the Daly Family may constitute complete utterances normally only when their sense is thought of as basically intransitive.

²Non-verbal sentence types have been omitted from this grammatical outline.

1.5.1.1. Class 1: Actions performed mainly with the hands

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	aya	anmawa	etama
<i>you</i>	nunt ^{ya}	nömawa	nuntama
<i>he</i>	yimln ^y	ylnmawa	ylnma
<i>she</i>	nimln ^y	nönmawa	nlnma
<i>it (a)</i>	wömln ^y	wönmawa	wlnma
<i>it (b)</i>	mömln ^y	mönmawa	mlnma
<i>we inc.</i>	aRkun ^y	aRkun ^y mawa	aRtama
<i>we exc.</i>	arun ^y	arön ^y mawa	attama
<i>you pl.</i>	nuṅkuRun ^y	nuṅuRun ^y mawa	nukuttama
<i>they</i>	wlRmln ^y	wöRönmawa	wutama
<i>we two</i>	aṅkaya	aṅkönmawa	aṅkutama

It is to be noted that there are four forms of the third person singular, as follows:

- 1) masculine
- 2) feminine
- 3) trees and lifeless objects
- 4) food and some body parts

Naturally, the third and fourth forms are not used nearly as often as the first and second.

Examples:

pent^{yi} t^{ye}yöt kölp a-ya
 [yesterday kangaroo roast I-hand]
I roasted a kangaroo yesterday.

ṅöyö wak tuRk an-ma-wa
 [to-morrow water drink I-Fut.-hand]
I shall drink the water to-morrow.

1.5.1.2. Class 2: Actions mainly performed sitting

The members of this class denote actions normally performed in a sitting position.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	anu(wa)	aniwa	atlniy
<i>you</i>	nunu(wa)	nlnlwa	nintlniy
<i>he</i>	yönu(wa)	yiniwa	yintlniy
<i>she</i>	nönu(wa)	nlnlwa	nintlniy
<i>it (a)</i>	wöyu(wa)	* winlwa	* wintlniy

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>it (b)</i>	möyu(wa)	* miniwa	* mintiniy
<i>we inc.</i>	aRtu(wa)	aRkiniwa	aRtiniy
<i>we exc.</i>	attu(wa)	ariniwa	attiniy
<i>you pl.</i>	nukuttu(wa)	niŋkiRiniwa	nikittiniy
<i>they</i>	wuttu(wa)	wiRiniwa	wittiniy
<i>we two</i>	aŋkunu(wa)	aŋkiniwa	aŋkitiniy

It is to be noted that the suffix *-wa*, indicating completed action with nonfuture affix units, may be dropped if completion is not stressed. In this case, a present tense is usually formed. This applies to all verb classes except the first, where *-wa* is never used to indicate completed action.

Examples:

pentʏi weRk-ma a-nu-wa
[*yesterday cry-state I-sit-comp.act.*]
I was crying yesterday.

tʏetmei puŋpuŋ-ma wö-yö-arinʏ
[*thigh hurt-state it-sit-me*]
I have a sore thigh.

1.5.1.3. Class 3: Actions mainly performed standing

The members of this verb class denote actions thought of as normally performed in a standing position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ayu(wa)	aniyaŋka	atiyaŋ
<i>you</i>	nuntʏu(wa)	niniyaŋka	nintiyaŋ
<i>he</i>	yöyö(wa)	yiniyaŋka	yiniyaŋ
<i>she</i>	nöntʏu(wa)	niniyaŋka	niniyaŋ
<i>it (a)</i>	wöyö(wa)		
<i>it (b)</i>	möyö(wa)		
<i>we inc.</i>	aRtʏu(wa)	aRkiniyaŋka	aRtiyaŋ
<i>we exc.</i>	attʏu(wa)	ariniyaŋka	attiyaŋ
<i>you pl.</i>	nukuttʏu(wa)	nikittiniyaŋka	nukuttiyaŋ
<i>they</i>	wuttʏu(wa)	wiRiniyaŋka	wuttiyaŋ
<i>we two</i>	aŋkuyu(wa)	aŋkiniyaŋka	aŋkitiyaŋ

Examples:

pentʏi wuRma a-yu-wa
[*yesterday get-up I-stand-comp.act.*]
I stood up yesterday.

waŋaRɪ walk katʲ nunt-yu-wa ?
 [you stone throw you-stand-comp.act.]

Did you throw the stone?

1.5.1.4. Class 4: Actions mainly performed lying down

The verb stem members of this class denote actions normally thought of as performed in a lying position. The affix unit paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ayu(wa)	aniyunka	atiyun
<i>you</i>	nunʲu(wa)	nōniyunka	nuntiyun
<i>he</i>	yöyö(wa)	yōniyunka	yōnyun
<i>she</i>	nunʲu(wa)	nōniyunka	nōnyun
<i>it (a)</i>	wōwō(wa)		
<i>it (b)</i>	mōyö(wa)		
<i>we inc.</i>	aRtʲu(wa)	aRkuniyunka	aRtiyun
<i>we exc.</i>	aru(wa)	ariniyunka	attiyun
<i>you pl.</i>	nunkuRu(wa)	nunkuRiniyunka	nukuttiyun
<i>they</i>	wuru(wa)	wōRōniyunka	wōttiyun
<i>we two</i>	aŋkuyu(wa)	aŋkuniyunka	aŋkitiyun

It is to be noted that this verb class shares the same forms for the first person singular and plural as Class 3, above.

Examples:

pentʲi ŋawe ŋuRŋut a-yu-wa
 [yesterday I sleep I-lie-comp.act.]
I was asleep yesterday.

ŋöyö ŋawe ŋuRŋut a-ni-yunka
 [to-morrow I sleep I-fut.-lie]
I shall sleep to-morrow.

1.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs involving movement from place to place

This class is composed mainly of verbs denoting actions of a type involving physical movement of the actor from one place to another.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ata(wa)	enuŋka	atun
<i>you</i>	nunta(wa)	nōnuŋka	nuntun
<i>he</i>	yita(wa)	yōnuŋka	yinpuŋ
<i>she</i>	nunta(wa)	nōnuŋka	ninpuŋ
<i>it (a)</i>	wuta(wa)	* wōnuŋka	* winpuŋ

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>it</i> (b)	* muta(wa)	* mönuṅka	* minpuṅ
<i>we</i> inc.	aRta(wa)	aRkōnuṅka	aRtuṅ
<i>we</i> exc.	atta(wa)	arōnuṅka	attuṅ
<i>you</i> pl.	nukutta(wa)	nukuRunuṅka	nukuttuṅ
<i>they</i>	wutta(wa)	wōRōnuṅka	wittuṅ
<i>we</i> two	aṅkata(wa)	aṅkunuṅka	aṅkatuṅ

Examples:

ṅöyö puwaR-yinṅa pi e-nu-ṅka tawun
 [tomorrow morning-in walk I-fut.-go town]
I shall go to town tomorrow morning.

wak alalame wu-ta
 [water flow it-go]
The water flows along.

tʸöṅ tʸalk wu-ta
 [tree fall it-go]
The tree fell down.

With dual actors with the exception of the first person dual inclusive, which has the free pronominal form *yeṅki*, duality is indicated by the dualiser *wōntōta* suffixed to the affix unit.

Example:

pentʸi tʸaṅar katʸ nukut-ta-wōntōta
 [yesterday spear throw you-go-dual]
You two threw spears yesterday.

Note:

It was stated above, 1.5.1.2., that a present tense is formed when the completive morpheme *-wa* is omitted. Apart from this, an habitual aspect is indicated by the morpheme *-ṅinʸ/-ṅunʸ*, which occupies the same position in the affix unit as *-wa*. Examples of the first person singular habitual are as follows:

Class 1	a-ya-Ø
Class 2	a-ni-ṅinʸ.
Class 3	a-yö-ṅunʸ
Class 4	a-yö-ṅunʸ
Class 5	a-Ø-ṅunʸ

Note that Class 1 does not take either *-wa* or *-ṅinʸ*.

1.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

As was stated above, affix units are generally trimorphic. The morphemes occur in the order:

actor - tense - type of action.¹

1.5.2.1. Actor Morphemes

The morphemes which indicate the actor occur first in the affix unit. They are fairly regular, although each form has morphophonemically conditioned allomorphs as follows:

<i>I</i>	a-, e-, an-
<i>you</i>	nu-, nun-, nunt-, nō-, nōn-, ni-, nin-
<i>he</i>	yl-, yln-, yō-, yōn-
<i>she</i>	ni-, nin-, nō-, nōn-, nunt-
<i>it (a)</i>	wl-, win-, wō-, wōn-, wu-
<i>it (b)</i>	ml-, min-, mō-, mōn-, mu-
<i>we inc.</i>	aR-, eR-, aRt, aRk-
<i>we exc.</i>	at-, et-, ar-,
<i>you pl.</i>	nukut-, nikit-, nuḡkuR-, niḡkiR-
<i>they</i>	wot-, wit-, wiR-, wuR-
<i>we two</i>	aḡka-, aḡki-, aḡku-, aḡkōn-

1.5.2.2. Tense Morphemes

The Mullukmulluk tense morphemes, occupying second position in the affix unit appear to be as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
Class 1	-Ø-	-ma-	-ta-; -Ø- (3s)
Class 2	-Ø-	-ni-	-ti-; -Ø- (3s)
Class 3	-Ø-	-ni-	-ti-; -Ø- (3s)
Class 4	-Ø-	-ni-	-ti-; -Ø- (3s)
Class 5	Irregular	-nu-	-tu-; -Ø- (3s)

From the above it will be seen that there is a zero tense marker for nonfuture with all verb classes. With the future it is -ni- or -nu-, with the exception of class 1, where it is -ma-. With the immediate future tense, the marker is always -ti- or -ta/-tu-, with the exception that it is always zero for third person singular.

1.5.2.3. Type of action morphemes

The morphemes which may be interpreted as indicating the general type of action always occur last in the affix unit as follows:

¹Birk (pers. comm.), in the light of his depth study, considers that the division of the affix unit into three morphemes is unprofitable because of the numerous irregularities involved. Within the Mulluk Group he prefers a division into simply: actor + residue.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
Class 1	-ya -min ^y (3s, pl.)	-wa	-ma -mi (3s)
Class 2	-nu -tu (all pl.)	-wa	-niy -nö (3s)
Class 3	-yu	-yaŋka	-yaŋ
Class 4	-yu -Ru (1b, 2, 3pl.)	-yuŋka	-yuŋ
Class 5	-ta	-ŋka	-ŋ -puŋ (3s)

The affix units of Mullukmulluk, then, show a fairly regular patterning, although there are some consistent irregularities, especially with the third person singular forms.

It is to be noted that the completive morpheme -wa may be suffixed to the subject or to a time adverb at the beginning of the sentence, and is not confined to the affix unit.

Example:

pent^yi-wa alaik kuRpuk a-ya
[yesterday baby wash I-hand]
I washed the baby yesterday.

A summary of the general ordering of morphemes in the Mullukmulluk affix unit and of their occurrence and non-occurrence follows:

Affix Unit	=	Actor	Tense	Action Type	Habitual
Nonfuture		+	-	+	±
Future		+	+	+	-
Immed.Fut.		+	+	+	-

This system is almost identical with that of Tyeraity, to be described below, 2.5.

With intransitive verbs, the suffix -ma may be added to the verb stem to indicate continuous action, for example, sleeping, crying. This is used only with nonfuture tense forms, and is used in addition to the -wa suffix discussed above.

Examples:

pent^yi ŋawe kaRkat-ma a-nu-wa
[yesterday I laugh-state I-sit-comp.act.]
I was laughing yesterday.

pent^yi ŋawe weRk-ma a-nu-wa
[yesterday I cry-state I-sit-comp.act.]
I was crying yesterday.

1.5.3. Verbs of state

In Mullukmulluk, English verbs of state such as *to be sick, hot, cold, tired, sore* are normally impersonalised.

Example:

tvetmel punpun-ma wö-yö-arin nawe
 [thigh hurt-state it-stand-me I]
I have a sore leg.

1.5.4. Direct object

1.5.4.1. Noun objects

In Mullukmulluk the direct object occurs before the verb stem and affix unit. It is normally marked by one of two object markers, as follows:

(1) With inanimate noun objects, the marker *-e* is normally suffixed to the noun, although this practice appears to be on the decrease.

Examples:

pentvi nawe tvaṇar-e pam a-ya pawuRk-inṇa
 [yesterday I spear-OM put I-hand ground-on]
Yesterday I put the spear down on the ground.

pentvi-we nawe wak-e tvintar a-ya
 [yesterday-CA I water-on pour I-hand]
I poured out the water yesterday.

(2) With animate noun objects, the noun object is repeated in pronominal form suffixed to the affix unit.

Example:

pentvi puntupulu tYuRk a-ya-nö
 [yesterday old man bury I-hand-him]
I buried the old man yesterday.

1.5.4.2. Pronoun objects

The pronoun objects listed above, 1.4., occur suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

muyinY-many ali taR yI-minY-ariny
 [dog-from leg bite he-hand-me]
The dog bit my leg.

tat yi-min^y-arin^y
[look he-stand-me]

He looked at me.

It is to be noted, however, that pronoun objects always occur before the completed action suffix -wa with nonfuture affix units.

Examples:

ɲawe tʲaŋar katʲ a-ta-nö-wa
[I spear throw I-go-him-comp.act.]

I threw a spear at him.

ɲawe kay a-ya-nö-wa
[I call I-hand-him-comp.act.]

I called out to him.

1.5.5. Negation

Negation in Mullukmulluk is indicated by the negativiser *akana*, which is placed utterance initially.

Examples:

akana tʲaŋar tapak a-ta
[not spear break I-go]

I did not break the spear.

akana pak a-ta
[not rest I-go]

I did not sit down.

1.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other Mullukmulluk word classes which have been collected include numerals, interrogatives and adverbs.

1.6.1. Numerals

The numerals of Mullukmulluk are exceptional in that although the system is basically the same as that of the other members of the Daly Family, a Mullukmulluk speaker may count to thirty without difficulty.

1. yenakŋa
2. weRena
3. weRena yenak
4. weRenweRen
5. nen^yiik yenakara (one hand)
6. nen^yiik yenakara na tikka (one hand and come back)
7. nen^yiik yenakara na weRena

8. nenYilk yenaŋaRa na weRena yenak
9. nenYilk yenaŋaRa na weRena weRena
10. nenYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa (*hand one one*)
11. nanYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa yenak
12. nanYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa weRena
13. nenYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa weRena yenak
14. nanYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa weRenweRen
15. nanYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa (*hand one one one*)
16. nenYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa na tikka
20. nanYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa matYana matYana (*hand one one foot foot*)
30. nanYilk yenaŋaRa yenaŋaRa matYana matYana nenYilk yenaŋaRa na

When numerals, possessive adjectives and adjectives modify the same noun head, the possessive adjective occurs first, while numeral and adjective follow without fixed ordering.

Examples:

muyinY weRena yenak	<i>three dogs.</i>
muyinY yunpanpan weRena yenak	<i>three good dogs</i>
muyinY ŋa weRena yenak yunpanpan	<i>my three good dogs</i>

The numerals could have been discussed in the section which dealt with substantive morphology. However, since numerals normally do not show concord in the Daly Family, it was preferred to treat them separately, in line with the pattern adopted in the description of other languages below.

1.6.2. Interrogatives

The Mullukmulluk interrogatives are as follows:

nikite	<i>what? how?</i>
nikitimanY	<i>why?</i>
ayin	<i>who?</i>
akun	<i>where?</i>
amanelimanY	<i>when?</i>
amaneli	<i>how many? when?</i>

Interrogatives always occur in sentence initial position.

Examples:

amaneli	tikka	wÖRÖ-nu-ŋka
[when	return	they-fut.-go]
<i>When will they come back.</i>		

ama is also used to ask *what* in such expressions as *what are you doing* or *what did you say*.

Example:

ama nunt-ya ?
 what you-hand
 What are you doing?

It does not appear to be used outside this context.

1.6.3. Adverbs

Some common Mullukmulluk adverbs of time are as follows:

ḡöyö(nö)	to-morrow
pentʏl(we)	yesterday
pentʏl puwaR	last night
pentʏl yawukmanʏ	two days ago
emen	to-day, now
möriyan	daytime
puwaRyinga	morning
ʏlḡki	afternoon
puwaR	night
kukway	soon
tʏenti yawuk	next week

Time adverbs occur almost invariably sentence initially. Adverbs of manner, however, occur immediately before the verb stem.

Example:

ḡuluk tʏultʏul lamma ʏi-ta
 [language fast talk he-go]
 He talks quickly.

1.7. WORD ORDER

The normal Mullukmulluk word order may be summarised in the following formula:

± T ± L ± S ± O ± VS + AU ± Inst ± L

The formula is interpreted thus: The only obligatory element in any Mullukmulluk sentence is the affix unit. Normally the time slot occupies the first position in the sentence, followed by the location slot, the subject, if a noun, the object and the free form verb stem. The verb stem is always followed by the affix unit, which includes any pronoun object. The affix unit may, in turn, be followed by the instrument or agent. However, although the above represents the most common ordering, it should be observed that word order varies considerably in Mullukmulluk around the sentence nucleus of verb stem and affix unit.

Example:

pentʏl tek-inga puntupulu tʏaŋar katʏ yi-ta yaRawawa-waŋ
 [yesterday camp-at old man spear throw he-go woomera-with]
 Yesterday the old man at the camp threw the spear with a woomera.

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2. TYERAITY

2.1. GENERAL

Tyeraity has the following recorded variant names and spellings: Tyeraity, Djeraity, Djerait, Djeradj, Tjerait, Cherites, Sherait, Tjiras, Daktyerat, Daktyerat, Djeradj, Scherits.

Tyeraity is spoken to-day by approximately five elderly aborigines who live between Daly River and Darwin. Capell (1963) places their traditional territory on the northern shores of Anson Bay, northwards along the coast to Port Patterson. Stanner (1933:382) places them in the same area.

The first notes on the Tyeraity language appear in Mathew's *Eaglehawk and Crow* (1899). These were provided by the resident missionary at the Daly River Mission. Mathew's record of Tyeraity consists of a wordlist of some two hundred and twenty five items, (pp.208-272) and a brief note on noun classes (p.162). Basedow (1907:60) has a short comparative wordlist of the languages of northern Australia which includes twenty eight Tyeraity basic vocabulary items. Eylmann (1908:101) includes a thirty item wordlist in his study. Schmidt (1919:176) also has brief notes on the language provided by the Daly River Mission. No other information on Tyeraity was published, apart from mentions of the name of the language, until Tryon (1968) where a ninety five item list is given in a preliminary classification of the Daly River languages.

Apart from a few wordlists, therefore, little information if any has been published on this language. Morphology has been entirely neglected with the exception of notes on noun classification (Tryon 1970), so that the position of Tyeraity within the Daly Family has not previously been clarified.

In the two major surveys of Australian languages, the Tyeraity language is listed as N20 in Capell (1963) and as 4Nr in Oates and Oates (1970).

Within the Daly Family, Tyeraity is a member of the Mulluk Group, and within this, is a member of the Mulluk Subgroup, together with Mullukmulluk. Tyeraity is morphologically very close to Mullukmulluk, although it shares only 65% cognates, based on a two hundred word list. Its percentage of shared cognates with other members of the Mulluk Group is as follows:

	Mullukmulluk	Tyeraity	Matngala	Kamor	Yunggor
Tyeraity	65%	-	41%	40%	45%

2.2. PHONEMES

A tentative list of Tyeraity phonemes is as follows:

a) Consonants.

p	t	tʸ	k
m	n	nʸ	ŋ
w	l	lʸ	
	r	R	y

b) Vowels.

i	u
ö	
e	a

2.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

2.3.1. Noun phrases

2.3.1.1. Noun classes and concord

The Tyeraity noun class and concord system is almost identical to that described above, 1.3.1.1., for Mullukmulluk. Unmodified nouns are divided into four classes, which are indicated by prefixes, as follows:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 1) Ø- | with parts of the body, kinship and natural phenomena. |
| 2) te- | with animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) miyu- | with plants and vegetable food. |
| 4) tʸuŋu | with trees and wooden objects. |

Examples:

puntu	<i>head</i>
pönʸ	<i>belly</i>
te-tit	<i>green ant</i>
te-melȫm	<i>stingray</i>
miyu-maRka	<i>tree flower</i>
tʸuŋu-wel	<i>paperbark</i>

There are four classes with adjectives which overlap but are not identical to the four unmodified noun classes. They are indicated by the following prefixes:

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1) yi-, yun-, yitʸ- | used with parts of the body, male humans, living animals, European tools and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) nu-, nun-, nitʸ- | used with feminine nouns. |
| 3) mu-, mun-, mitʸ- | used with food, food containers, weapons for catching food, body parts associated with food, musical instruments. |
| 4) wu-, wun-, witʸ | used with trees, camps, lifeless objects and objects associated with travel. |

Examples:

puntu yitelu	<i>big head</i>
ŋen yitelu	<i>big man</i>
miRu nutelu	<i>big sun</i>
elukur nutelu	<i>big woman</i>
miyu mutelu	<i>big food</i>
tʸaŋal mutelu	<i>big spear</i>
tʸuŋu wutelu	<i>big tree</i>
wulu wutelu	<i>big stone</i>

The overlap between the two systems has been set out in full for Mullukmulluk above, 1.3.1.1., and as the Tyeraity system is identical it will be summarised in the following table:

Class 1 (Ø-).....	yi-, nu-, wu-
(te-)	yl-
(miyu-)	mu-
(tʸuŋu-)	wu-, mu-

Two further observations on Tyeraity adjectives are required:

- a) Concord with adjectives, as with Mullukmulluk, is restricted to only the most commonly used ones. In other cases there is no concord between adjective and noun head.

Examples:

wulu tamalma	<i>white stone</i>
--------------	--------------------

wulu witma

red stone

b) For adjectives which have noun concord, the form of the adjective changes when the modified noun is plural.

Examples:

nen yunpayin	<i>good man</i>
nen wuRitYawun yunpanpan	<i>three good men</i>
elukur nunpayin	<i>good woman</i>
elukur wuRitYawun nunpanpan	<i>three good women</i>
nen yinetu	<i>bad man</i>
nen wuRitYawun yinereru	<i>three bad men</i>
nen yitelu	<i>big man</i>
nen wuRitYawun yiter	<i>three big men</i>
nen yitʔpul	<i>small man</i>
nen wuRitYawun yunʔmör	<i>three small men</i>
elukur wuritYawun nunʔmör	<i>three small women</i>

2.3.1.1. *Possessive phrases*

As with Mullukmulluk, there are no noun classes for possession. The possessive phrase consists of a noun head followed by the subject pronoun, see below, 2.4.

Examples:

tʔaŋal ɲa	<i>my spear</i>
antuk ninʔ	<i>your house</i>
muyinʔ yöntön	<i>his dog</i>

With noun possessors, the possessor precedes the possessed, as in the following examples:

muyinʔ wumu	<i>the dog's tail</i>
litʔpurp per	<i>the handle of the axe</i>
antuk aru	<i>the door of the house</i>

When the possessor is already possessed, as in *my father's spear*, the possessed item is followed by the possessed possessor, to which is suffixed the benefactive marker -nō, masculine, or -ŋiyu, feminine.

Examples:

tʔaŋal munpanpan papa	ɲa-nō
[spears good father my for]	
<i>my father's good spears</i>	
pampur wunpayin kalaŋ	ɲa-ŋiyu
[bag good mother my for]	
<i>my mother's good dilly bag</i>	

2.3.2. Other Substantive Morphology

The following are the most frequently used postpositions in Tyeraity:

- 1) -nö for, in order to

Examples:

te muyiny-nö puy a-wun-pun
[meat dog-for walk I-fut-go]
I shall get some meat for the dog.

miyu-nö kalal e-re-me
[food-for climb I-go-comp.act.]
I climbed up for some food.

This suffix is the same as the third person singular object. If the beneficiary is feminine, -nö is replaced by -niyu. All other noun classes take -nö.

- 2) -nö-waŋ by or with, instrumental marker

Examples:

tvaŋal-nö-waŋ iy a-wun-mi
[spear-for-with hunt I-fut-hand]
I shall hunt with a spear.

puntu pilp yi-min^y-arin^y tvaŋu-nö-waŋ
[head hit he-hand-me stick-for-with]
He hit me on the head with a stick.

- 3) tin^y from, because of

Examples:

pent^yu tvaŋu-tin^y tvelk e-re-me
[yesterday tree-from fall I-go-comp.act.]
I fell from a tree yesterday.

mankut^y-tin^y lamlama nun-ta-me
[old woman-from talk she-go-comp.act.]
...Because the old woman was talking.

- 4) -unŋen or wunŋen in, at, to

The second form, -wunŋen, is affixed to noun heads ending in -k. Elsewhere the unŋen form is used.

Examples:

tek-wunŋen	<i>in the camp</i>
antuk-wunŋen	<i>in the house</i>

went(u)-unŋen	<i>in the canoe</i>
tʸuŋ(u)-unŋen	<i>in the tree</i>

2.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The Tyeraity subject pronouns always occur as free forms, while the object forms are invariably bound. They are as follows:

	Subject	Object
<i>I</i>	ŋa	-arinʸ
<i>you</i>	ninʸ	-nintʸu
<i>he</i>	yöntön	-nö
<i>she</i>	nöntön	-ŋiyu
<i>we incl.</i>	ərkuR	-aRkuRu
<i>we excl.</i>	ewuR	-awuRu
<i>you pl.</i>	nuŋkuR	-nuŋkuRu
<i>they</i>	wuRuntun	-wörö
<i>we two incl.</i>	yinŋku	-nuŋku

There is only one separate dual pronoun, *yinŋku*, *we two inclusive*. With other dual subjects or objects the dualising suffix *-kunun* is added to the corresponding plural form.

Example:

nuŋkuR *you plural* nuŋkuR-kunun *you two*

2.5. THE VERB

2.5.1. Verb Classes¹

As with Mullukmulluk, there are five verb classes in Tyeraity, indicated by different affix units. The affix unit paradigms are almost identical to those listed above for Mullukmulluk, although there are a few significant differences. The Tyeraity verb classes, then, are as follows:

- 1) Actions performed mainly with the hands, talking etc.
- 2) Actions usually performed sitting down.
- 3) Actions usually performed standing.
- 4) Actions usually performed lying down.
- 5) Actions usually performed on the move.

As with the other members of the Daly Family, the verb consists of a

¹ Non-verbal sentence types are not treated in this study.

verb stem, always a free form, followed by an affix unit. The affix unit may constitute a meaningful utterance in its own right. It is composed of morphemes which indicate the actor, tense or aspect and the general type of action. Further details of the role of the affix unit were given above, 1.5. and so require no further comment here. The affix units for the five verb classes are listed below, together with examples of usage. The main tenses only are given, namely the non-future, future and immediate future, as they are more readily comparable with other members of the Daly Family. In the Mulluk Group there are, however, several further tense refinements not described here, all involving further affix unit paradigms. The paradigms for the three main tenses of the five verb classes are set out below.

2.5.1.1. *Class 1: Actions Mainly Performed with the Hands*

Verb stem members of this class normally denote actions performed with the hands. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	aya	awunmi	etöme
<i>you</i>	nuntʼa	nunmi	nöntöme
<i>he</i>	ylminʼ	yinamu	yinmi
<i>she</i>	nöminʼ	nönamu	nunmi
<i>it (a)</i>	wöminʼ	wunamu	wunmi
<i>it (b)</i>	möminʼ	mönamu	munmi
<i>we inc.</i>	eRtʼa	eRkuwunmi	eRtöme
<i>we exc.</i>	attʼa	aranmi	ettöme
<i>you pl.</i>	nukuttʼa	nunkuRunmi	nukuttume
<i>they</i>	wuRminʼ	wuRanmi	wuttume
<i>we two</i>	aŋkaya	aŋkuwunmi	aŋkutume

As with Mullukmulluk there are four forms of the third person singular as follows:

- 1) masculine
- 2) feminine
- 3) trees and lifeless objects
- 4) food and some body parts.

The third and fourth forms occur much less frequently than the first and second. With third person plural, the four singular third person divisions become one.

Examples:

pentʏu tʏuŋu tʏurp a-ya
[yesterday tree cut I-hand]
I cut the wood yesterday.

nunuyu tʏuŋu tʏurp a-wun-mi
[tomorrow tree cut I-fut-hand]
I shall cut the wood tomorrow.

2.5.1.2. Class 2: Actions Usually Performed Sitting

This verb class includes stems which denote actions normally performed in a sitting position.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	enö(me)	awuni	etini
<i>you</i>	nönö(me)	nuwani	nuntini
<i>he</i>	yönö(me)	yineni	yini
<i>she</i>	nönö(me)	nöneni	nuni
<i>it (a)</i>	wönö(me)	wöneni	wuni
<i>it (b)</i>	mönö(me)	möneni	muni
<i>we inc.</i>	eRtö(me)	eRkuwuni	eRtini
<i>we exc.</i>	ettö(me)	ereni	ettini
<i>you pl.</i>	nukuttö(me)	nunkuRini	nukuttini
<i>they</i>	wuttö(me)	wuReni	wuttini
<i>we two</i>	aŋkunu(me)	aŋkuwuni	aŋkutini

It is to be noted that the suffix -me, indicating completed action with nonfuture affix units, may be dropped if completion is not stressed. This also forms a present continuous tense, except with Class 1, where -me is never used. With Class 1 the present continuous is indicated by a special set of affix units.

Examples:

nunuyu ŋuluk lamlama a-wu-ni
[tomorrow speech talk I-fut-sit]
I shall talk tomorrow.

pentʏu e-nö-me
[yesterday I-sit-comp.act.]
I sat down yesterday.

The phenomenon of the affix unit alone, unaccompanied by a verb stem, representing a complete utterance is a feature of the entire Daly Family.

2.5.1.3. Class 3: Actions Usually Performed Standing

The verb stems belonging to this class normally denote action performed in a standing position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ayö(me)	awuntʏaŋ	atiyaŋ
<i>you</i>	nuntʏö(me)	nuwuntʏaŋ	nuntiyaŋ
<i>he</i>	yöyö(me)	yintʏaŋ	yiniyaŋ
<i>she</i>	nuntʏö(me)	nuntʏaŋ	nöniyaŋ
<i>it</i> (a)	wöyö(me)	wuntʏaŋ	wöniyaŋ
<i>it</i> (b)	möyö(me)	munʏaŋ	möniyaŋ
<i>we</i> inc.	eRtʏö(me)	aRkuwuntʏaŋ	eRtiyaŋ
<i>we</i> exc.	ettʏö(me)	erintʏaŋ	ettiyaŋ
<i>you</i> pl.	nukuttʏu(me)	nunʏkuRintʏaŋ	nukuttiyaŋ
<i>they</i>	wuttʏu(me)	wuRintʏaŋ	wuttiyaŋ
<i>we</i> two	aŋkuyö(me)	aŋkuwuntʏaŋ	aŋkuttiyaŋ

Examples:

pentʏu wuruma a-yö-me
[yesterday stand up I-stand-comp.act.]
I stood up yesterday.

nuŋuyu wuruma yini-Ø-yaŋ
[tomorrow stand up he-fut-stand]
He will stand up soon.

2.5.1.4. Class 4: Actions Usually Performed Lying Down

The following are the affix units which accompany Class 4 verb stems:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ayö(me)	awunʏuŋ	eTöyüŋ
<i>you</i>	nunʏö(me)	nuwunʏuŋ	nöntöyüŋ
<i>he</i>	yöyö(me)	yiniyaŋ	yinʏuŋ
<i>she</i>	nönʏö(me)	nöniyaŋ	nunʏuŋ
<i>it</i> (a)	wöyö(me)	wöniyaŋ	wunʏuŋ
<i>it</i> (b)	möyö(me)	möniyaŋ	munʏuŋ
<i>we</i> inc.	eRtʏö(me)	aRkuwunʏuŋ	eRtöyüŋ
<i>we</i> exc.	erö(me)	aranʏuŋ	eTtöyüŋ
<i>you</i> pl.	nukuRu(me)	nunʏkuRunʏuŋ	nukuttuyüŋ
<i>they</i>	wuRu(me)	wuRunʏuŋ	wuttuyüŋ
<i>we</i> two	aŋkuyu(me)	aŋkuwunʏuŋ	aŋkutuyüŋ

It is to be noted that this verb class shares the same for the first person singular and plural as Class 3 above.

Examples:

pentʷu ɲurɲur nun-yö-me
[yesterday sleep you-lie-comp.act.]
You slept yesterday.

nuɲuyu ɲurɲur nuŋkuRun-Ø-yuɲ
[tomorrow sleep you pl-fut-lie]
You plural will sleep tomorrow.

2.5.1.5. Class 5: Actions Usually Performed on the Move

This class, as was the case in Mullukmulluk, is composed mainly of verbs involving physical movement of the actor from place to place. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ere(me)	awunpuɲ	etöŋ
<i>you</i>	nönte(me)	nuwunpuɲ	nuntuɲ
<i>he</i>	yira(me)	yinawuɲ	yinpuɲ
<i>she</i>	nönte(me)	nunawuɲ	nunpuɲ
<i>it (a)</i>	wöra(me)	wunawuɲ	wunpuɲ
<i>it (b)</i>	möra(me)	munawuɲ	munpuɲ
<i>we inc.</i>	eRte(me)	eRkuwunpuɲ	eRtuɲ
<i>we exc.</i>	ette(me)	eranpuɲ	ettuɲ
<i>you pl.</i>	nukutta(me)	nuŋkuRunpuɲ	nukuttuɲ
<i>they</i>	wutta(me)	wuRunpuɲ	wuttuɲ
<i>we two</i>	aŋkure(me)	aŋkuwunpuɲ	aŋkutuɲ

Examples:

pentʷu tʷuɲu-tinʷ tʷeik e-re-me
[yesterday tree-from fall I-go-comp.act.]
Yesterday I fell from the tree.

nuɲuyu kakat yin-Ø-awuɲ
[tomorrow laugh he-fut-go]
He will laugh tomorrow.

tʷuɲu tʷeik wö-ra-me
[tree fall it-go-comp.act.]
The tree fell down.

pat miyu tʲeik mun-Ø-awun
 [look out food fall it-fut-go]
Look out, the food is going to fall down.

NOTE:

It was stated above, 2.5.1.2., that a present tense is formed when the completive morpheme -me is omitted from the non-future affix unit. As was the case with Mullukmulluk, an habitual aspect is indicated by the morpheme -ɲunʲ, which occupies the same position in the affix unit as -me.

A distant future and past have also been noted in Tyeraity, indicated by the morphemes -piran and -we/-wö respectively.

Examples:

nunuyu tʲakat a-wun-piran
 [tomorrow run I-fut-go]
I shall run tomorrow.

tʲaŋal kötʲ a-wö-rö-me
 [spear throw I-DP-go-comp.act.]
I threw the spear long ago.

It will be noted that the morpheme indicating the distant past occurs before the regular tense indicating morpheme, while the distant future is indicated by a special form of the morpheme which indicates the general action type encompassed by the verb class. The distant past and future have been found only with Class 5 verb stems in Tyeraity, although they almost certainly occur elsewhere.

2.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

The affix units in Tyeraity are trimorphemic generally, although there are certain regular irregularities. The morphemes occur in the following order:

actor - tense - type of action.

2.5.2.1. Actor Morphemes

The morphemes indicating the number and person of the actor occur first in the affix unit. Each has morphophonemically or morphologically conditioned allomorphs as follows:

<i>I</i>	a-, e- (all tenses)
<i>you</i>	nö-, nön-, nu-, nun-, nunt- (all tenses)
<i>he</i>	yö-, yi-, yin- (all tenses)
<i>she</i>	nö-, nön-, nun- (all tenses)

<i>it</i> (a)	wö-, wön-, wun- (all tenses)
<i>it</i> (b)	mö-, mön-, mun- (all tenses)
<i>we</i> inc.	aR-, eRt- (nonfut., immed.fut.); aRku- (fut.)
<i>we</i> exc.	at- (nonfut., immed.fut.); aRan- (fut.)
<i>you</i> pl.	nukut- (nonfut., immed.fut.); nuṅkuRun- (fut.)
<i>they</i>	wu-, wur-, wut- (nonfut., immed.fut.); wuran- (fut.)
<i>we</i> two	aṅka-, aṅku- (all tenses)

It is to be noted that the forms of the second person singular and third person feminine are identical. Also, there is a special future actor morpheme with all plural actors.

2.5.2.2. Tense Morphemes

The Tieraity tense morphemes, occupying second position in the affix unit are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
Class 1	Ø	-wun- -Ø- (3s, 1b, 2, 3pl)	-tö- -Ø- (3s)
Class 2	Ø	-wun- -Ø- (3s, 1b, 2, 3pl)	-ti- -Ø- (3s)
Class 3	Ø	-wun- -Ø- (3s, 1b, 2, 3pl)	-ti- -Ø- (3s)
Class 4	Ø	-wun- -Ø- (3s, 1b, 2, 3pl)	-tö -Ø- (3s)
Class 5	Ø	-wun- -Ø- (3s, 1b, 2, 3pl)	-tö- -Ø- (3s)

From the above it will be seen that the tense marker is zero for all classes with the nonfuture tense. With the future, it is -wun- through all verb classes except that it is zero with third singular, and all plural actors except first person inclusive. With the immediate future tense it is always -ti- or -tö-, with the exception that it is zero for third person singular.

2.5.2.3. Type of Action Morphemes

The morphemes which indicate the general type of action always occur last in the affix unit as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
Class 1	-ya -min ^y (3s, pl)	-mi -amu (3s)	-me -mi

Class 2	-nö	-ni	-ni
	-tö (all pl)	-eni (3s)	
Class 3	-yö	-t'yaŋ	-yaŋ
Class 4	-yö	-yuŋ	-yuŋ
	-rö (1b, 2, 3pl)	-iyaŋ (3s)	-nyuŋ (3s)
Class 5	-re	-puŋ	-ŋ
	-te (1b, 2, 3pl)	-awuŋ (3s)	-puŋ (3s)

The affix units of Tyeraity, then, show a fairly regular patterning for the most part, with largely predictable irregular features. It is to be noted that to any nonfuture tense the completive marker *-me* may be affixed, with the exception of Class 1, where a special affix unit paradigm is required to indicate completed action. When the completive marker is not used, a present continuous tense is indicated, although it may also indicate a general past without emphasis on completed action.

The structure of the Tyeraity affix units may be summed up in the following table:

Affix Unit	=	Actor	Tense	Action Type	Habitual
Nonfuture		+	-	+	±
Future		+	+	+	-
Immed.Future		+	+	+	-

2.5.3. Impersonal Verbs

English verbs of state, such as *to be hot, cold, tired, sick* etc., are impersonalised in Tyeraity, as is the case with other members of the Daly Family.

Examples:

wulakan mark kar wun-Ø-awuŋ-ariny
 [later cold hurt it-fut-go-me]
I shall be cold later on.

puntu pert-ma wu-nö-ariny
 [head pain-state it-sit-me]
I have a headache.

2.5.4. Direct Object

2.5.4.1. Noun Objects

In Tyeraity the direct object occurs before the verb stem and affix

unit. As with Mullukmulluk it is normally marked with one of two object markers.

1) With inanimate objects, the suffix *-a* is often added to the noun, although not always.

Example:

te manturk-a lak anku-tu-me
[meat kangaroo-OM eat we two-immed.fut-hand]
We two are going to eat kangaroo meat.

2) With animate noun objects, the noun object is repeated in nominal form suffixed to the affix unit.

Example:

pentyu mankutv tök a-Ø-ya-nlyu
[yesterday old woman see I-non fut-hand-her]
I saw the old woman yesterday.

2.5.4.2. Pronoun Objects

Pronoun objects, the forms for which were given above, 2.4., are suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

pentyu tök yl-Ø-minv-arinv
[yesterday look he-non fut-hand-me]
He looked at me yesterday.

pentyu tök a-Ø-ya-nlyu
[yesterday look I-non fut-hand-her]
I saw her yesterday.

2.5.5. Negation

Negation is expressed in Tyeraity by *anlnkl...maki*. The first part immediately precedes the verb stem, while the second follows, as in the following examples:

tyuŋu anlnkl tyurp maki e-re-me
[wood not cut not I-go-comp.act.]
I did not cut the wood.

elukur na anlnkl wa maki yl-Ø-ra-me-nlyu
[woman my not take not he-nonfut-go-comp.act-her]
He did not take my wife.

2.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other Tyeraity word classes include numerals, interrogatives and adverbs.

2.6.1. Numerals

1. yawunuka
2. weRenuka
3. wuRitYawun
4. weRunweRun
5. nenYulk yaŋarmutuŋ (*one hand*)

2.6.2. Interrogatives

The Tyeraity interrogatives are as follows:

aŋun	<i>who?</i>
nikite	<i>what?</i>
nikitenö	<i>why?</i>
ŋantaŋ	<i>where?</i>
ŋantukelö	<i>when?</i>

Interrogatives normally occupy the sentence initial position, as in the following examples:

aŋun tʲaŋal ɲa taptö yi-Ø-minʲ
 [who spear my break he-nonfut-hand]
Who broke my spear?

nikitenö elukur tök-ma nun-Ø-ta-wöRö
 [why women look-state you-nonfut-go-them]
Why are you looking at those women?

2.6.3. Adverbs

Some common Tyeraity adverbs of time are as follows:

enYika	<i>today (past)</i>
emen	<i>today (future)</i>
puyitu	<i>night-time</i>
nuŋuyu	<i>tomorrow</i>
pentYu	<i>yesterday</i>
puyengen	<i>this morning</i>
almirmir	<i>this afternoon</i>
nuŋuyu yawu	<i>day after tomorrow</i>
tunYu yawu	<i>last year</i>

wulakan *later on*
 yaratinʸ *just now*

Time adverbs almost invariably occur sentence initially. Other adverbs, however, immediately precede the affix unit.

Examples:

pentʸu tʸakat wanʸatliki yi-Ø-ra-me
 [yesterday run quickly he-nonfut-go-comp.act.]
He ran fast yesterday.

wutʸpul e-ti-ni
 [little I-immed.fut-sit]
I shall sit down for awhile.

2.7. WORD ORDER

The Tyeraity word order is the same as that described above, 1.7., for Mullukmulluk.

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3. MATNGALA

3.1. GENERAL

Matngala has a number of variant names and spellings as follows: Hermit Hill, Amadil, Madngela, Muttangella, Matngelli, Mandella, Madngella, Maangella, Muttangulla, Warat and Ngengiwerat. The last two terms in this series apply to the geographical area in which the language is spoken, rather than to the language itself.

Matngala is spoken today by approximately fifteen to twenty Aborigines who are based at Wooliana, on the north bank of the Daly River. According to Stanner, their true locality was in the Hermit Hill area on the other side of the river (Stanner 1933:382).

Little linguistic information about this language is to be found in the works of earlier writers. MacKillop (1893) refers to the Matngala people, but his paper contains no language notes. Eylmann (1908) also mentions the Matngala people (1908:161), but provides no linguistic information. Stanner, who surveyed the whole area from an anthropological viewpoint, includes Matngala kinship terms (1933:389), while Capell (1940:264, 407) mentions Matngala but does not present any language data. In his *Linguistic Survey of Australia* (1963) Capell states that he did take some notes on the language, as yet unpublished (1963: Area N13).

In the Capell survey, Matngala is assigned the number N49, while in Oates and Oates (1970) it is listed as 6 Nr.

The present writer has previously published a short Matngala wordlist (Tryon 1968) and notes on Matngala noun classification (Tryon 1970).

Within the Daly Family, Matngala is a member of the Mulluk Group,

and within this Group belongs to the Daly subgroup. Matngala has three dialects, namely Matngala, Kamor and Yunggor. The percentage of shared cognates based on a 200 word list is as follows:

	Matngala	Kamor	Yunggor
Matngala	-	75	80
Kamor	76	-	72
Yunggor	80	72	-

Within the Mulluk Group, Matngala shares 45% common cognates with Mullukmulluk and 41% with Tyeraity. This section deals with Matngala alone. Kamor and Yunggor will be treated separately below, sections 3a. and 3b., as there are some significant dialect differences.

3.2. PHONEMES

The following is a tentative list of Matngala phonemes:

a) Consonants:

p	t	tʷ	k
m	n	nʷ	ŋ
w	l	lʷ	
R	r	y	

b) Vowels:

i	u
ö	
e	a

3.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

3.3.1. Noun Phrases

3.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

There are four classes for unmodified nouns, indicated by prefixes as follows:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena. |
| 2) pɪnʷa- | with animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) miyi- | with vegetable foods and plants. |
| 4) yim- | with trees, wooden objects and weapons. |

Examples:

putʔa	<i>head</i>
tʔinɪn	<i>nose</i>
pinʔa-tʔayɪR	<i>red kangaroo</i>
pinʔa-tʔɪŋu	<i>crocodile</i>
miyi-tʔampul	<i>long yam</i>
miyi-munantak	<i>"cheeky" yam</i>
yim-kunʔunʔunʔ	<i>boomerang</i>
yim-tʔan	<i>yam-stick</i>

Adjectives always follow the noun which they modify and are invariable. No concord exists between adjective and noun head.

Examples:

tʔamaR kunawaran	<i>big dog</i>
war kunawaran	<i>big house</i>
putʔa kunawaran	<i>big head</i>
tʔitʔɪ kunawaran	<i>big man</i>
tʔamaR kuweruk	<i>bad dog</i>
tʔitʔɪ kuweruk	<i>bad man</i>
kanpi kuweruk	<i>bad spear</i>
kuwarak kuweruk	<i>bad woman</i>

A few of the more common adjectives begin with ku-. Most, however, do not. This suggests that Matngala may formerly have had concord with adjectives, but that the system has fallen into disuse. The Maranunggu cognate, *werek*, *bad*, lends support to this view.

3.3.1.2. *Possessive Phrases*

Possession is indicated by the subject pronoun following the noun head (see 3.4. for personal pronouns). There are no noun classes for possession, with one minor exception which will be discussed below.

Examples:

kunʔunʔunʔ guru	<i>my boomerang</i>
etö wanaRɪ	<i>your (sg.) mate</i>

The only exception comes with kinship terms possessed by a first person possessor. In this case, the possessed item is followed by the suffix -ŋu which is in turn followed by the personal pronoun.

Examples:

kaka-ŋu guru	<i>my uncle</i>
awuy-ŋu guru	<i>my aunt</i>
kila-ŋu guru	<i>my mother</i>

3.3.2. Other Substantive Morphology

Postpositions play an important role in Matngala substantive morphology. The more commonly used postpositions are as follows:

- 1) -ni by/with, instrumental marker

Example:

tʲatʲin tʲayir tal a-timi-nak kanpi-ni
 [yesterday kangaroo kill I-hand-nonfut. spear-with]
Yesterday I killed a red kangaroo with a spear.

- 2) -tinʲ from, because of

Example:

walaka tutʲ a-timi-nak wuk-tinʲ
 [corroboree dance I-hand-nonfut. alcohol from]
I danced because of the beer (I had drunk).

- 3) -nuŋ for, in order to

Example:

tʲamaR-nuŋ taRarma a-yaŋka-k
 [dog for look for I-go-nonfut.]
I went to look for my dog.

- 4) yente at, in, at the place of

Example:

war tʲenʲ ka-ta-ŋak tak ŋuru yente
 [house build I-stand-fut. camp my at]
I want to build a house at my camp.

3.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The Matngala subject and object pronouns are listed below. The subject pronouns always occur as free forms, while object pronouns are always bound.

	Subject	Object
<i>I</i>	ŋuru	-awa
<i>you</i>	waŋaRi	-niŋtʲi
<i>he</i>	kuna	-nuŋ
<i>she</i>	ŋemu	-nuŋ
<i>we incl.</i>	ŋerömarar	-arar
<i>we excl.</i>	ŋerö	-ar
<i>you pl.</i>	nunuŋkur	-nuŋur
<i>they</i>	kunuwur	-wur
<i>we two incl.</i>	ŋemö	-ney

The only independent dual form is *ɲemö*, first person inclusive. All other dual forms consist of the plural pronoun followed by the dualising suffix *-wuna*.

Example:

kunuwur	<i>they</i> plural
kunuwur-wuna	<i>they</i> dual

3.5. THE VERB

3.5.1. Verb Classes

Matngala verbs fall into five classes, which are the same as those of Mullukmulluk and Tyeraity. They are as follows:

- 1) Actions mainly performed with the hands.
- 2) Actions mainly performed sitting.
- 3) Actions mainly performed standing.
- 4) Actions mainly performed lying down.
- 5) Actions involving movement from place to place.

The verb consists of a verb stem, a free form, which is followed by an affix unit containing person, tense and aspect morphemes.

Example:

tʲatʲɪn ɲurɲur a-ya-k
[*yesterday sleep I-lie-nonfut.*]

I slept yesterday.

From the above example it will be seen that the Matngala verb is a double verb, as is the rule throughout the Daly Family. The free form indicates the particular action being performed, while the bound form within the affix unit describes the general field in which the particular action is performed. It is to be noted that the affix unit alone may constitute an independent meaningful utterance. In the sentence cited above, *ayak* means *I lay*, and may be used without any accompanying free verb stem. In most cases, however, both the free form and the bound form are required together.

The affix units for each verb class are set out in paradigm form below. the main tenses only being listed, namely non-future, future and immediate future. A summary matrix of morpheme breakdown follows the paradigms.

3.5.1.1. Class 1: Actions performed mainly with the Hands

Verb stems belonging to this verb class normally denote actions performed with the hands, such as cutting, washing, breaking etc. The paradigm of accompanying affix units is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	atöminak	kataṇak	atay
<i>you</i>	anyminak	kantʸutaṇak	antʸötay
<i>he/she</i>	tayanak	kutaṇak	putay
<i>we inc.</i>	arminakarar	karataṇakarar	aratayarar
<i>we exc.</i>	arminak	karataṇak	aratay
<i>you</i>	nuṅkurminak	nuṅkurtanak	nuṅkuratay
<i>they</i>	pörminak	kurtanak	puratay
<i>we dl.</i>	amputiminak	kamputanak	amputay

Examples:

kanpi taptʸak a-tömi-nak
 [spear break I-hand-nonfut.]
I broke the spear.

nikanuṅ yim ɲeRp ka-ta-ṇak
 [tomorrow wood chop I-hand-fut.]
I shall chop the wood tomorrow.

3.5.1.2. Class 2: Actions mainly performed Sitting

Verb stems belonging to this class denote actions normally thought of as performed in a sitting position.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	aninak	kaniṇak	anay
<i>you</i>	anyanak	kantʸiniṇak	antʸönay
<i>he/she</i>	nöwönak	kiniṇak	punay
<i>we inc.</i>	aninakarar	kereniṇakarar	aranayarar
<i>we exc.</i>	aninak	kereniṇak	aranay
<i>you</i>	nuṅkunetak	niṅkitiniṇak	nuṅkuranay
<i>they</i>	pönenak	kiriniṇak	puranay
<i>we dl.</i>	emnyönak	kampuniṇak	ampunay

Example:

tʸatʸin a-ni-nak
 [yesterday I-sit-nonfut.]
I sat down yesterday.

3.5.1.3. Class 3: Actions mainly performed Standing

The actions denoted by the verb stem members of this class usually include all actions performed in a standing position.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	attak ¹	katanaḡak	atay
<i>you</i>	antʔuttak	kantʔutanaḡak	antʔutay
<i>he/she</i>	puttak	kutanaḡak	putay
<i>we inc.</i>	arrattakarakar	karatanaḡakarakar	aratayarakar
<i>we exc.</i>	arattak	karatanaḡak	aratay
<i>you</i>	nuḡkuruttak	nuḡkuratanaḡak	nuḡkurutay
<i>they</i>	auruttak	kuratanaḡak	purtay
<i>we dl.</i>	amputtak	kamputanaḡak	amputay

Examples:

wuRuma ku-ta-ḡak
[stand up he-stand-fut.]
He will stand up.

nikanan kay ku-ta-ḡak
[tomorrow call he-stand-fut.]
He will call out tomorrow.

It will be noted that this verb class shares almost identical future and immediate future forms with Class 1 above.

3.5.1.4. Class 4: Actions mainly performed Lying Down

The verb stem members of this class normally, although not always, denote actions performed in a lying position.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ayak	kiyiḡak	aniy
<i>you</i>	anʔak	kantʔuyiḡak	antʔuniy
<i>he/she</i>	yurak	kiyiḡak	puniy
<i>we inc.</i>	arakarakar	kariyiḡakarakar	arunarakar
<i>we exc.</i>	arak	kariyiḡak	arun
<i>you</i>	nuḡkurak	nuḡkuriyiḡak	nuḡkuruniy
<i>they</i>	purak	kiriyiḡak	puruniy
<i>we dl.</i>	amnʔak	kampuyunak	ampuniy

Examples:

tʔatʔin ḡuRḡuR a-ya-k
[yesterday sleep I-lie-nonfut.]
I slept yesterday.

¹ Although the alveolar stop is on most occasions voiceless in this tense, morphological evidence would suggest that no morpheme boundary is involved here, unlike the case in Mullukmulluk (see 1.5.1.1.).

nikanuŋ ŋuŋuR ki-yi-ŋak
 [tomorrow sleep he-lies-nonfut.]
He will sleep tomorrow.

3.5.1.5. Class 5: Actions involving Movement from Place to Place

Verbs of motion make up the bulk of the verb stems which may belong to this verb class.

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
<i>I</i>	ayaŋkak	kawuyak	ewiy
<i>you</i>	anʔaŋkak	kantʔiyak	entʔiy
<i>he/she</i>	yaŋkak	kuwayak	puwailiy
<i>we inc.</i>	araŋkakarakar	karʔyakarakar	erewarar
<i>we exc.</i>	araŋkak	karʔyak	eriy
<i>you</i>	nuŋkurunʔkak	nuŋkurʔiyak	niŋkiriy
<i>they</i>	puranʔkak	kuriyak	piriy
<i>we dl.</i>	amnʔaŋkak	kampuyak	empiy

Examples:

kanpɪ katʔ a-yaŋka-k
 [spear throw I-go-nonfut.]
I threw the spear.

ŋöytʔ titʔka ku-wa-yak
 [night return he-go-fut.]
He will come back at night.

When there is a dual actor, the dualising suffix -wuna is suffixed to the affix unit.

Example:

puy pur-aŋka-k-wuna tawun
 [walk they-go-nonfut.-dual town]
They two went to town.

3.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

Each affix unit is generally composed of three morphemes, in the order: actor - type of action - tense/aspect

3.5.2.1. Actor Morphemes

The morphemes indicating actor are rather regular, apart from the third person singular. They have two forms, depending on tense as follows:

	Except Future	Future
<i>I</i>	a-	ka-
<i>you</i>	anʏ- / antʏu-	kantʏu-
<i>he/she</i>	irregular	ku-
<i>we inc.</i>	ar....arar	kara....arar
<i>we exc.</i>	ar-	kara-
<i>you</i>	nuḡkur-	nuḡkur-
<i>they</i>	pur-	kur-
<i>we dl.</i>	ampu- / amnʏ-	kampu-

3.5.2.2. Type of Action Morphemes

The morphemes which indicate the type of action are semi-regular through all classes, although there are some notable exceptions. They are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
Class 1	-tö- / -tömi-	-ta-	-ta-
Class 2	-ni-	-ni-	-na-
Class 3	-ta-	-ta-	-ta-
Class 4	-ya-	-yi-	-ni-
Class 5	-yaḡka-	-wu- / -Ø-	irregular

3.5.2.3. Tense/Aspect Morphemes

The tense/aspect morphemes, occurring last in the affix unit, show a high degree of regularity, as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future	Immed.Future
Class 1	-nak	-ḡak	-y
Class 2	-nak	-ḡak	-y
Class 3	-k	-ḡak	-y
Class 4	-k	-ḡak	-y
Class 5	-k	-yak	-y

The affix unit system, then, is relatively uncomplicated, the irregularities being confined to third person singular and plural. What is unusual, however, is the fact that the ordering of morphemes within the affix unit is different in the Mulluk and Daly sub-groups. As noted above, for the Mulluk sub-group the morphemes occur in the order:

+ Actor + Tense + Action Type

Within the Daly sub-group, however, the ordering is:

+ Actor + Action Type + Tense

Further comment on this point will be made below, in the comparative section.

3.5.3. Impersonal Verbs

In Matngala, as with the other members of the Daly Family, English verbs of state, such as *to be hot, cold, sore, tired* are impersonalised.

Example:

tetöm tyak Ø-yaŋka-k-awa
[back hurt he-go-nonfut.-me]
I had a sore back.

3.5.4. Direct Object

3.5.4.1. Noun Objects

Noun objects always occur immediately before the verb stem and affix unit. If the object is a person, a third person object pronoun is also suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

war taR a-timi-nak
[house look I-hand-nonfut.]
I looked at the house.

werek kiyity tyurity a-timi-nak-nun
[baby small wash I-hand-nonfut-him]
I washed the little baby.

3.5.4.2. Pronoun Objects

The pronoun objects, listed above 3.4. occur suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

taR a-timi-nak-nintyi
[see I-hand-nonfut.-you]
I saw you.

tal taya-nak-awa
[spear he-hand-nonfut.-me]
He speared me.

3.5.5. Negation

Negation is indicated by the negative marker or particle takayu

preceding the verb stem and affix unit.

Examples:

takayu puy a-yaŋka-k
[not walk I-go-nonfut.]
I did not go.

takayu taR a-yaŋka-k-nuŋ
[not find I-go-nonfut.-him]
I did not find him.

3.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes in Matngala which have been collected are numerals, interrogatives and adverbs.

3.6.1. Numerals

1. nempöyu
2. kuruntʷöyu
3. kuruntʷöyu nempöyu
4. kuruntʷöyu kuruntʷöyu
5. memek nempere (one hand)

Numerals always follow the noun to which they refer.

3.6.2. Interrogatives

The Matngala interrogatives are as follows:

nuwun	who?
antʷa	what?
aninʷimitinʷ	when?
antʷanuŋ	why?
aninʷumiyl	how many?
ankinʷ	where?

Interrogatives normally occupy the sentence initial position.

Examples:

antʷa-nuŋ kanpi guru taptʷak anʷ-mi-nak
[what for spear my break you-hand-nonfut.]
Why did you break my spear?

ankin puy anʷ-aŋka-k tʷatʷin
[where walk you-go-nonfut. yesterday]
Where did you go yesterday?

3.6.3. Adverbs

Some common Matngala adverbs of time are as follows:

tʷatʷin(-tinʷ)	yesterday
nika(-nuŋ)	tomorrow
ŋöytʷ	night-time
niyin	daytime
tʷawu	today

Time adverbs occur either sentence initially or finally.

3.7. WORD ORDER

The normal Matngala word order may be summarised in the following formula.

± T ± L ± S ± O ± VS + AU ± I ± L ± T

The formula is interpreted thus: The time slot, optional, may occur sentence initially, followed by location, subject, if a noun, then the object. Next comes the free verb stem form, which is also optional, followed by the affix unit, which is obligatory in every sentence. The affix unit may be followed by instrument, location and time slot.

Example:

tʷatʷin tʷitʷi paip aŋ taya-nak-awa tak ŋuru yente
 [yesterday man pipe give he-hand-nonfut.-me camp my at]
 Yesterday a man gave me a pipe at my camp.

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3a. YUNGGOR

3a.1. GENERAL

Yunggor, a dialect of Matngala, has the variant spellings Junggor and Yungor. At present it is remembered by only two aborigines as a second language.¹ It is mentioned by Stanner (1933:382), who places its traditional home in the area between Hermit Hill and the Daly River. Since that time, the Yunggor tribe has become extinct.

As far as previous linguistic information is concerned, Capell (1963: Area N12) thinks that some notes which he took at Hermit Hill may be Yunggor. Apart from this the only information available is a short wordlist collected by the present writer (Tryon 1968), and notes on Yunggor noun classification (Tryon 1970).

Yunggor is assigned the classification number N47 by Capell (1963) and is listed as 7Nr in the Oates (1970) survey.

On a lexicostatistical count, Yunggor shares 80% common cognates with Matngala and 72% with Kamor. Structurally and lexically Yunggor is very similar to Matngala, and accordingly will be described only briefly here.

3a.2. PHONEMES

A tentative list of the phonemes of Yunggor is as follows:

¹The information presented here is, therefore, necessarily inadequate and tentative. It is sufficient, however, to situate Yunggor within the Daly Family.

a) Consonants:

p	t	tʸ	k
m	n	nʸ	ŋ
w	l	lʸ	
R	r	y	

b) Vowels:

i	u
ö	
e	a

The tentative phoneme inventory is the same as that for Matngala. A striking feature of Yunggor, however, is the much higher incidence of /y/ here than in the other two dialects, especially in word initial position. This feature may well be attributable, at least in part, to an imperfect recall of this dialect by rather aged informants.

3a.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

3a.3.1. Noun Phrases

3a.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

There are four classes for unmodified nouns, indicated by prefixes thus:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena. |
| 2) yinʸa- | with animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) yiʸi- | with vegetable foods and plants. |
| 4) yim- | with trees, wooden objects and weapons. |

Examples:

karala	skin
yinin	nose
yinʸa-nöwöt	emu
yinʸa-köʸ	barramundi
yiʸi-köyöt	lily root
yiʸi-maRka	flower
yim-yawitʸ	ironwood
yim-yer	mangrove

Adjectives are invariable and always follow the noun which they modify.

Examples:

yamaR yunpuriŋ	<i>good dog</i>
yamaR kiŋiŋ	<i>small dog</i>
ŋiŋŋa yōnōwaraŋ	<i>big man</i>

As with Matngala, there is no concord between adjective and noun head.

3a.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

Possession is indicated by the subject pronoun which follows the noun head (see 3a.4. for list of pronouns). There are no noun classes for possession, with the same minor exception as described for Matngala, above, 3.3.1.2.

Examples:

yamaR yuru	<i>my dog</i>
yamaR ŋaŋaRi	<i>your dog</i>

But: *yepi-ŋu* *my mate*

3a.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The subject pronouns are free forms, while all object pronouns are bound to the affix unit. They are:

	Subject	Object
<i>I</i>	yuru	-awa
<i>you</i>	ŋaŋaRi	-ŋiŋŋiŋi
<i>he/she</i>	yōna	-nuŋ
<i>we incl.</i>	yerōmarar	-arar
<i>we excl.</i>	yerō	-ar
<i>you pl.</i>	yōnuŋkur	-nuŋkur
<i>they</i>	yōnuwur	-wur
<i>we two incl.</i>	yemō	-ney

As with Matngala, the only independent dual form indicates a first person inclusive. All other dual forms consist of the plural pronoun followed by the dualising suffix -wuna.

Example:

yōnuŋkur-wuna *you two*

3a.5. VERBS

3a.5.1. Verb Classes

Yunggor has the same verb classes as those listed for Matngala above, 3.5. The affix units are also identical, apart from the

regular replacement of Matngala affix unit initial k- by y-, and the changing of Matngala affix initial vowel to /y/ plus vowel. The first person singular nonfuture and future for all classes illustrates this feature.

Examples:

	Matngala	Yunggor
	Nonfuture/Future	Nonfuture/Future
Class 1	atöminak/kataṇak	yetöminak/yataṇak
Class 2	aninak/kaniṇak	yeninak/yaniṇak
Class 3	atak/kataṇak	yatak/yataṇak
Class 4	ayak/kiyiṇak	yayak/yayaṇak
Class 5	ayaṇkak/kawuyak	yöyaṇkak/yawayak

Examples:

yin^{ya} yak ya-ta-ṇak
 [meat eat I-hand-fut.]
I want to eat the meat.

yanⁱ yat^y ya-wa-yak lakan^y-ni
 [spear throw I-go-fut. woomera-with]
I shall throw the spear with a woomera.

3a.5.2. Direct Object

3a.5.2.1. Pronoun Objects

The pronoun objects listed above (3a.4.) occur suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

yun yan taya-nak-awa
 [tobacco give he/hand-nonfut.-me]
He gave me some tobacco.

yet^y taya-nak-awa
 [hit he/hand-nonfut.-me]
He hit me.

3a.5.2.2. Noun Objects

Noun objects occur immediately before the verb stem and affix unit. If the object is a part of the body, its possessor is also referred to pronominally in the affix unit. This feature is common throughout the Daly Family.

Examples:

yat^yin-ma yim yerp-ma ya-ta-k
 [yesterday-state wood cut-state I-stand-nonfut.]
I was chopping wood yesterday.

yamaR yerere yer taya-nak-awa
 [dog leg bite he/hand-nonfut.-me]
The dog bit my leg.

3a.5.3. Negation

Negation is indicated by the negative particle yakayu preceding the verb stem and affix unit.

Example:

yakayu yak ya-yaŋka-k
 [not eat I-go-nonfut.]
I did not eat it.

3a.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes in Yunggor include numerals, interrogatives and adverbs.

3a.6.1. Numerals

1. yempöyu
2. yörönt^yöyu
3. yörönt^yöyu yempöyu
4. yörönt^yöyu yörönt^yöyu
5. memek yempöyu

As with Matngala, numerals follow the noun to which they refer.

3a.6.2. Interrogatives

Yunggor interrogatives include:

yenin ^y ömitin ^y	when?
yant ^y a	what?
yuwun	who?
yant ^y anun	why?

3a.6.3. Adverbs

Some common Yunggor time adverbs include:

yöt ^y	night-time
yawunin	today

yikanun	tomorrow
yatvin	yesterday

3a.7. WORD ORDER

Yunggor word order is identical to that outlined for Matngala above, 3.7.

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¹Items of linguistic interest indicated with asterisk beside title.

3b. KAMOR

3b.1. GENERAL

Kamor has several different spellings as follows: Kamor, Gamor and Ngangigamor. At present (1973) it is remembered by only three speakers, and then only as a second language. This naturally affects the reliability of the information collected in the field.

Stanner (1933:382) places the traditional home of the Kamor people near Mount Haywood, on the north side of the Daly River. The tribe itself is now extinct.

Previously published linguistic information on this group is almost non-existent. All that has been published is a short wordlist, collected by the present writer, and notes on noun classification (Tryon 1968 and 1970).

Together with Yunggor, Kamor is a dialect of Matngala. Within the Daly Family it is a member of the Mulluk Group, and within this Group belongs to the Daly subgroup. It shares about 75% common cognates with Matngala and 72% with Yunggor, based on a 200 word list. It is in general structurally and lexically very similar to the other two dialects, although there are some morphological innovations, which will be discussed below.

In the Capell (1963) survey, Kamor was assigned the identification number N27, while in the revised survey, Oates and Oates (1970) it is labelled 5Nr.

3b.2. PHONEMES

The following is a tentative list of Kamor phonemes:

a) Consonants:

p	t	tʲ	k
m	n	nʲ	ŋ
w	l	lʲ	
R	r	y	

b) Vowels:

i	u
ö	
e	a

The tentative phonemic inventory, therefore, is identical for the three dialects in this subgroup.

3b.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

3b.3.1. Noun Phrases

3b.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

As with Matngala and Yunggor, there are four classes for unmodified nouns, indicated by the following prefixes:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena. |
| 2) pinʲa- | with animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) meyi- | with vegetable foods and plants. |
| 4) yim- | with trees, wooden objects and weapons. |

Examples:

nat	<i>tooth</i>
tʲlnln	<i>nose</i>
pinʲa-mur	<i>egg</i>
pinʲa-tan	<i>turtle</i>
meyi-putʲarlr	<i>lily root</i>
yim-pltʲma	<i>firestick</i>

Adjectives are invariable and always follow the noun which they modify. No concord exists between adjective and noun head.

Examples:

tʲamaR eiunʲu	<i>big dog</i>
war eiunʲu	<i>big house</i>
tʲamaR klylk	<i>small dog</i>
tʲamaR kuweruk	<i>bad dog</i>

3b.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

Personal pronouns, listed below (3b.4.), are placed after the noun head to indicate possession. As with Matngala and Yunggor, there are no noun classes for possession.

Examples:

tɣamaR ɲuru nuŋ	<i>my dog</i>
kanpi kuna nuŋ	<i>his spear</i>

3b.3.2. Other Substantive Morphology

The Kamor postpositions are almost identical to those of Matngala as described above. They are listed below with examples for comparative purposes.

- 1) -ni *by/with*, instrument focus marker

Example:

yu	talma-ɲu	pi-ti	kanpi-ni
[yes	hit-us	two	he-stand spear-with]

He hit us two with a spear.

- 2) -nuŋ *for, in order to*

Example:

tat	e-mö	meyi-nuŋ
[hurt	I-hand	food-for]

I was hungry for food.

- 3) -yente *in, to, towards*

Example:

titiɣuy	ka-wu-y	tak-yente
[back go	I-go-fut.	camp-to]

I am going back home.

- 4) -yenteru *at*

Example:

war	tatiɣ	ka-mö	tak-yenteru
[house	build	I-hand	camp-at]

I shall build a house at my camp.

3b.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

As with the other two dialects, the subject pronouns are free forms, while the object forms are always bound. They are as follows:

	Subject	Object
<i>I</i>	ɲuru	-ɲu
<i>you</i>	nuŋkur	-niɲtʲɪ
<i>he/she</i>	kunaru	-nuŋ
<i>we incl.</i>	ɲerömarar	-arar
<i>we excl.</i>	ɲerö	-ar
<i>you pl.</i>	nuŋkurayu	-nuŋkur
<i>they</i>	kunuwuru	-wur
<i>we two incl.</i>	ɲemöru	-ɲu

Dual forms apart from the first person inclusive are indicated by the dual marker *-kuna*, suffixed to the plural form.

Example:

ɲerö	<i>we pl. exc.</i>
ɲerökuna	<i>we dl. exc.</i>

The Kamor pronouns, then, are almost identical to those of Matngala and Yunggor, with the main difference lying in the fact that the object forms of the first person singular and dual appear to be the same.

3b.5. VERBS

3b.5.1. Verb Classes

Kamor verbs fall into five classes, which are the same as those listed above for Matngala and Yunggor. The affix unit paradigms which could be elicited were almost the same as for the other two dialects. This is shown in the listing of first person singular future and non-future affix units for the five classes below:

	Matngala Nonfuture/Future	Kamor Nonfuture/Future
Class 1	atöminak/kataŋak	emö/kamö
Class 2	aninak/kaniŋak	eniny/keniŋ
Class 3	atak/kataŋak	eti/kataŋ
Class 4	ayak/kiyiŋak	ayö/kiyuŋ
Class 5	ayaŋkak/kawuyak	ayaŋka/kawuy

The Kamor forms tend to lose the final consonant or consonant and vowel which occur affix finally in the other two dialects.

Examples:

ɲuru	kanpi	katʲ	a-yaŋka
[<i>I</i>	<i>spear</i>	<i>throw</i>	<i>I-go</i>]
<i>I threw the spear.</i>			

tʲimpitʲimpitʲ tʲenʲma e-ti
 [boomerang make I-stand]

I made a boomerang.

It will be noted that the Matngala nonfuture tense marker -k is omitted entirely in Kamor, and that the future marker -ŋak/-yak is reduced to -ŋ/-y.

3b.5.2. Impersonal Verbs

Verbs of state, such as *to be hot, cold, hungry etc.* are impersonal in Kamor.

Example:

menwuyuk tat-ŋu pö-mö
 [hunger hurt-me he-hand]

I was hungry.

3b.5.3. Direct Object

3b.5.3.1. Noun Objects

Noun objects always occur before the verb stem and affix unit, as with the other members of this subgroup.

Example:

tʲatʲin yim ŋerpma e-ti
 [yesterday wood chop I-stand]

I chopped the wood yesterday.

3b.5.3.2. Pronoun Objects

Unlike Matngala and Yunggor, pronoun objects are normally suffixed to the verb stem, not to the affix unit, although the same forms are used.

Examples:

pukunŋ nŋŋkur tatʲ-nintʲi ka-wu-y
 [soon you hit-you I-go-fut.]

I am going to hit you soon.

tʲamaR kerer ler-ŋu pö-mö
 [dog leg bite-me he-hand]

The dog bit my leg.

However, pronoun objects may also occur suffixed to the affix unit, as in the following example:

tal pö-mö-ŋu
 [spear he-hand-me]
He speared me.

Flexibility in the position occupied by the pronoun object, noticed also in Matngala, is unknown outside the Daly sub-group, within the Daly Family.

3b.5.4. Negation

Negation is indicated in Kamor by wanʔaŋu preceding the verb stem and affix unit, which are in turn followed by the second part of this discontinuous negatiser wetma.

Examples:

wanʔaŋu puy ka-wu-y wetma
 [not walk I-go-fut. not]
I do not want to go.

ŋuru-ni wanʔaŋu tal a-ta-m wetma
 [me-by not shoot I-stand-rec.past not]
I did not shoot him.

3b.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

The Kamor numerals, interrogatives and adverbs of time are as follows:

3b.6.1. Numerals

1. nempayu
2. paipmuru
3. paipmuru nempayu
4. paipmuru paipmuru
5. paipmuru paipmuru nempayu

Numerals invariably follow the noun to which they refer.

3b.6.2. Interrogatives

Kamor interrogatives include:

ananʔmiyi	<i>when?</i>
antʔanuŋ	<i>what?</i>
nuwun	<i>who?</i>
antʔatinʔ	<i>why?</i>
ankin	<i>where?</i>

Kamor interrogatives normally occupy a sentence initial position.

3b.6.3. Adverbs

Some common Kamor time adverbs include:

pukunug	tomorrow
tyawugu	today
tyatvin	yesterday

3b.7. WORD ORDER

Kamor word order, with the exception of the pronoun object discussed above, 3b.5., is identical to that outlined for Matngala above, 3.7.

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4. MARITHIEL

4.1. GENERAL

Marithiel has a wide variety of variant names and spellings, the most common of which are as follows: Marithiel, Maridhiel, Marathiel, Maridiyal, Marithid, Maridiyel, Brinkin, Berinken, Berringin, Bringen. The term Brinken, however, is not a language name but rather the name given to a certain group of people speaking Marithiel and its dialects, Marityabin, Maridan and MareAmmu. The term Brinken is according to Stanner (1938:101) a Mullukmulluk term, disliked intensely by the people about whom it was used. Marithiel means *paperbark language* from mari, *language* and thiel (ṭiyel) *paperbark*.

Marithiel is spoken today by approximately sixty five speakers, some of whom live at the Daly River, but many of whom live close to European settlements between the Daly River and Darwin. According to Capell (1963: Area N15) their traditional territory lies somewhere between Hermit Hill and Port Keats. Stanner (1938:101) places them in a similar position. The traditional site has, however, long since been abandoned in favour of European centres.

There is a small corpus of previously published material on the Marithiel language. Basedow (1907:60) published a twenty eight item wordlist, while Capell (1940) lists the Marithiel noun classes (p.263) and a short wordlist (p.270). Stanner (1938:101-108) wrote a brief article entitled "Notes on the Marithiel Language", to date the most comprehensive study published. It is, however, very brief. Since Stanner, and Capell, a ninety five item wordlist and notes on noun classification and concord have been published by the present writer (Tryon 1968 and 1970). Hoddinott is currently working on a grammar

of the language. Apart from the work of those mentioned above, Nekes and Worms (1953) contains some information on the Marithiel language.

Marithiel was assigned the number N57 in the Capell Survey (1963), while in the more recent Oates Survey (1970) it is numbered 39.1.

Within the Daly Family, Marithiel is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity group and within this is a member of the Brinken subgroup. It has four dialects namely Marithiel, Marityabin, MareAmmu and Maridan.¹ Two other closely related languages within the group are Maramanandji and Marengar. Percentages of shared cognates within the subgroup will be found below, as follows:

	Marithiel	Marityabin	MareAmmu	Maridan	Maramanandji	Marengar
Marithiel	-	84%	88%	89%	63%	68%
Marityabin	84%	-	85%	83%	56%	68%
MareAmmu	88%	85%	-	84%	58%	70%
Maridan	89%	83%	84%	-	64%	67%
Maramanandji	63%	56%	58%	64%	-	54%
Marengar	68%	68%	70%	67%	54%	-

4.2. PHONEMES

A tentative listing of Marithiel phonemes is as follows:

a) Consonants:²

p	t̪	t	(t̥)	tʷ	k
m		n	(ŋ)	nʷ	ŋ
w		l	(l̥)	y	
		r	R		

b) Vowels:

i	u
(ö)	
e	a

¹The status of Maridan and MareAmmu as dialects involves certain problems, to be discussed separately below.

²a. Although Capell (1940:270) records a retroflex series, its phonemic status has not been confirmed either by Hoddinott (pers.comm.) or by the present writer.

b. [ɲ] and [ɭ] have not been encountered in the material collected by the present writer.

c. /R/ represents an alveolar flap or trill, while /r/ is normally an alveolar median resonant, sometimes a retroflex.

d. /p/ has a voiceless bilabial fricative variant throughout the Brinken subgroup.

4.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

4.3.1. Noun Phrases

4.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

Unmodified nouns fall into five classes indicated by prefixes, in the same manner as the other members of the Daly Family. The prefixes and their corresponding classes are as follows:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) a- | with animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) mi- | with edible plants and vegetable food. |
| 4) yeli- | with most weapons and wooden implements. |
| 5) ɬar- | with trees and some wooden implements. |

Examples:

pöyl	<i>head</i>
tʲaŋl	<i>ear</i>
a-mati	<i>barramundi</i>
a-mutʲir	<i>emu</i>
mi-meri	<i>pandanus fruit</i>
mi-weŋi	<i>wild apple</i>
yeli-kuntʲuŋunʲ	<i>boomerang</i>
yeli-ɬawuR	<i>digging stick</i>
ɬar-mawunʲ	<i>ironwood</i>

It should be noted that the class marking prefixes are rapidly falling into disuse, especially in the speech of younger people.

Two further markers are used with nouns in Marithiel, namely wati- with nouns indicating male sex/age difference terms and ŋuŋku- with those that denote female sex/age difference terms.

Examples:

wati-meri	<i>man</i>
ŋuŋku-muku	<i>woman</i>
ŋuŋku-matlak	<i>old woman</i>

The functional load of these two markers is so slight that they have not been included as separate noun class markers. However, concord between noun head and modifier is still observed even with these minor classes.

When a noun head is modified by an adjective, the adjective follows the noun and shows concord with it for class. The same markers are prefixed to both the noun and the adjective as the following examples will demonstrate:

ɲatta kapil	<i>big house</i>
watʔan kapil	<i>big dog</i>
a-mati a-kapil	<i>big barramundi</i>
a-watʔowöraŋ a-kapil	<i>big kangaroo</i>
mi-kunʔkuli mi-kapil	<i>big yam</i>
miyi mi-kapil	<i>big food</i>
ɬawuR ɬar-kapil	<i>big tree</i>

The adjective itself is normally invariable, but may undergo partial or complete reduplication if plurality is stressed, as in:

watʔan kapilkapil ɲalpu	<i>all the big dogs</i>
-------------------------	-------------------------

4.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

The same five classes observed above apply to possessive adjectives. When a noun is pronominally possessed, the possessive adjective follows the noun. The Marithiel possessive adjectives are the same as the free form subject pronouns. To them, however, is attached the class marking prefix appropriate to the class of the possessed noun. The possessive adjectives are as follows:

yikin	<i>my</i>
nan	<i>your</i>
naŋ	<i>his</i>
ɲiya	<i>her</i>
ɲaŋkinim	<i>our pl.inc.</i>
kati	<i>our pl.exc.</i>
nati	<i>your pl.</i>
wati	<i>their</i>
ɲaŋki	<i>our dl.inc.</i>
katipini	<i>our dl.exc.</i>
natipini	<i>your dl.</i>
watipini	<i>their dl.</i>

It will be observed that the only separate dual form is ɲaŋki, our dual inclusive. With other dual possessors, the dual marker -pini is suffixed to the plural form. This feature is common throughout the Daly Family.

Examples:

ɲatta yekin	<i>my house</i>
watʔan yikin	<i>my dog</i>
amati ayikin	<i>my barramundi</i>
awatʔowöraŋ ayikin	<i>my red kangaroo</i>
miyi miyikin	<i>my food</i>

miyi minan	<i>his food</i>
yeliṭawuR yeliyikin	<i>my yamstick</i>
yelikuntʷunʷ yelinan	<i>his boomerang</i>
marimari ṭaryikin	<i>my knife</i>

When a noun is modified by both an adjective and a possessive adjective, the adjective always precedes the possessive adjective. If the possessive adjective precedes the adjective, a stative type sentence is formed. The first construction is an incomplete statement, while the second is a complete sentence. In Marithiel, there are no special possessive forms for kinship terms, as there are in other languages belonging to this family. With noun possessors, the possessor always precedes the possessed.

4.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

Postpositions are among the principal features found in close association with the noun head, apart from the adjectives and possessives described above. Some frequently used postpositions are as follows:

- 1) *nana* *in, on, at*

Examples:

kampu-nim-a nʷinʷiwul nana
[*we sit-all-past* *shade* *in*]
We all sat in the shade.

tʷalwu nana *in the canoe*

- 2) *nanan* *from, by, because of*

Example:

wuti nanan *from grog*

- 3) *kin* *by, with, instrumental marker*

Examples:

ninʷ-kur-a watʷan yeliṭawuR-kin-a
[*I-hit-past* *dog* *stick-with-past*]
I hit the dog with a stick.

ninʷ-kur-a punti-kin watʷan
[*I-hit-past* *hand-with* *dog*]
I hit the dog with my hand.

It is to be noted that in the above examples, the past tense or completed action marker -a was suffixed to the instrument marker -kin as well as to the verb itself. This flexibility has been observed with other

members of the Daly family.

4.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

In Marithiel there are three series of personal pronouns, denoting the pronoun subject, direct object and indirect object. The direct and indirect object forms will be simply listed here for comparative purposes and dealt with at length during the discussion of verb morphology. The forms are:

	Subject	Ind.Object	Direct Object
<i>I</i>	yikin	-ŋin-	-iŋ-, -uŋ-, -ŋi-
<i>you</i>	nanʸ	-mpi-	-inʸ-, -nʸi-
<i>he</i>	naŋ	-ni-	-Ø-
<i>she</i>	ŋiya	-ŋ-	-Ø-
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋaŋkinim	-ŋki...nim	-ŋki-, -nki...nim
<i>we exc.</i>	katl	-kinʸ-	-kitl-
<i>you pl.</i>	natl	-ninʸ-	-tl-
<i>they</i>	watl	-winʸ-	-tl-
<i>we dl.</i>	ŋaŋki	-ŋki-, -nki-	-ŋki-, -nki-

It will be observed that second and third persons plural have identical forms for the direct object. With dual forms apart from the first person inclusive, the dualising affix -pini is suffixed to the regular plural form. Further mention of this feature will be made during the discussion of the verb morphology.

4.5. THE VERB

4.5.1. Verb Classes

In Marithiel, as with all other members of the Daly family there are several verb classes, based on type of action. The most common Marithiel verb classes are as follows:

- 1) Actions performed mainly with the hands.
- 2) Actions mainly performed lying down.
- 3) Throwing actions.
- 4) Actions mainly performed in a sitting position.
- 5) Actions involving cutting.
- 6) Verbs of seeing and perceiving.
- 7) Verbs of catching.
- 8) Verbs of motion.
- 9) Actions usually performed in a standing position.

- 10) Verbs of acquiring.
- 11) Verbs of drinking and/or dying.
- 12) Verbs of talking and saying.
- 13) Verbs of causing movement.
- 14) Verbs of falling.
- 15) Verbs of wanting and requiring.

Only the main six verb classes, of which the great majority of verb stems are members, will be described in detail here. Hoddinott is preparing a depth study of Marithiel, in which all of the verb classes will be treated in detail.

The Marithiel verb phrase has the following formula:

+ Actor ± Verb stem ± Tense Auxiliary

Each verb phrase normally consists of a maximum of three morphemes. The first, which has two forms, future and nonfuture, indicates the actor. The second morpheme in the verb phrase is the verb stem itself, always bound, while the third is the tense auxiliary. The following paradigms will clarify the *modus operandi* of the Marithiel verb phrase.

4.5.1.1. Class 1: *Verbs denoting actions mainly performed with the hands*

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲir-X-a	ɲur-X-wa
<i>you</i>	kinir-X-a	ari-X-wa
<i>he</i>	kari-X-a	kur-X-wa
<i>we inc.</i>	kumpur-X-nim-a	ɲumpur-X-nim-wa
<i>we exc.</i>	kiriŋki-X-a	ɲiriŋki-X-wa
<i>you pl.</i>	kiniriŋki-X-a	nariŋki-X-wa
<i>they</i>	kuriŋki-X-a	piriŋki-X-wa
<i>we dl.</i>	kumpur-X-a	ɲumpur-X-wa

Examples:

kinir-Ø-tim-a tɣuwuŋanan
 [you-him-bury-past yesterday]
You buried him yesterday.

wöran ɲir-Ø-pirkitɣ-a
 [leg I-it-scratch-past]
I scratched my leg.

kari!a ɲir-Ø-lir-a
 [stone I-it-pick up-past]
I picked up the stone.

nan tʲenti karl-Ø-pul
[he spear he-it-break]

He is breaking the spear.

As with the other members of the Daly family, there are two basic tense distinctions in Marithiel, future versus nonfuture. Each verb class has two sets of actor morphemes corresponding to the basic tense dichotomy, different however for each verb class. The verb stem itself is always bound, unlike other groups within the Daly family. The morpheme -a/-ya suffixed to the nonfuture verb phrase indicates completed action. When it is omitted, as in the last example, a present continuous is indicated. The morpheme -wa suffixed to the future verb phrase denotes future tense, while, if it is omitted, an imperative is formed.

Verb phrases may constitute minimal meaningful utterances, or complete sentences in their own right in several verb classes, even if there is no bound form verb stem between the actor and tense morpheme. This parallels the usage in other members of the Daly family, Maranunggu for example. In effect, the actor morpheme not only indicates the actor, but also the general field of action within which the particular action indicated by the bound form verb stem takes place. The first example cited:

kinir-Ø-tim-a tʲuwuŋanan

had a verb phrase translation *you-him-bury-past*. This would perhaps be more exactly translated: *you/hands-him-bury-past*. This point will be brought out more clearly in the discussion of other Marithiel verb classes below. Class 1 verb phrases, unfortunately, always require the presence of a bound verb stem, without which the utterance is meaningless.

With dual subjects, apart from the first person inclusive, the dual marker -pini is placed between the bound form verb stem and the tense auxiliary.

Examples:

kirinʒki-Ø-tim-pini-ya tʲuwuŋanan
[we/exc/hands-him-bury-dual past yesterday]
We dual exclusive buried him yesterday.

giriŋki-Ø-tim-pini-wa nitʲiŋani
[we/exc/hands-him-bury-dual fut. tomorrow]
We dual exclusive will bury him tomorrow.

The position of the dual marker in the verb phrase in Marithiel parallels the system found in other members of the Daly family, even outside the immediate group to which Marithiel belongs. As will have been

observed from examples already given, a noun object always reappears in pronominal form in the verb phrase, even though with direct objects the marker is -Ø-, as this is the form for third person singular pronoun objects. With plural noun objects the pronominal form reappearing in the verb phrase is -ti-. Further comment on this point will be made below.

Remarks made about the morphology of this first verb class apply equally to all other Marithiel verb classes, as the following paradigms and examples will show.

4.5.1.2. *Verbs denoting actions mainly performed lying down*

The verb stem members of this class denote actions normally thought of as performed lying down, although in some cases it is difficult to see the semantic link. The paradigm of forms is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-X-a	ŋa-X-wa
<i>you</i>	klini-X-a	ŋinti-X-wa
<i>he</i>	ka-X-a	ka-X-wa
<i>we inc.</i>	kimpi-X-nim-a	ŋimpi-X-nim-wa
<i>we exc.</i>	kirinY-X-a	ŋirinY-X-wa
<i>you pl.</i>	kininY-X-a	ninY-X-wa
<i>they</i>	kunY-X-a	pirinY-X-wa
<i>we dl.</i>	kimpi-X-a	ŋimpi-X-wa

Examples of usage:

kini-pal-a tYuwuŋanan
[you/lie-sleep-past yesterday]
You slept yesterday.

kini-pli-ya tYuwuŋanan
[you/lie-smoke-past yesterday]
You smoked yesterday.

ŋi-mpi-pup-a tYuwuŋanan
[I/lie-you-give-past yesterday]
I gave it to you yesterday.

This verb class always requires the presence of a bound form verb stem, and is meaningless without one, unlike some of the verb classes to follow.

4.5.1.3. *Class 3: Verbs of Motion*

Verb stems of this class normally denote actions involving movement

from one place to another. In this class, the bound form verb stem is not obligatory. The paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋin-X-a	ŋun-X-wa
<i>you</i>	kin-X-a	wari-X-wa
<i>he</i>	kani-X-a	kun-X-wa
<i>we inc.</i>	kumpun-X-nim-a	ɲumpun-X-nim-wa
<i>we exc.</i>	kiŋinʸ-X-a	ŋiŋin-X-wa
<i>you pl.</i>	kiŋinʸ-X-a	naninʸ-X-wa
<i>they</i>	kuninʸ-X-a	pininʸ-X-wa
<i>we dl.</i>	kumpun-X-a	ɲumpun-X-wa

Examples of usage:

awu ŋin-Ø-mir-a
[meat I/go-it-cover-past]
I covered the meat.

wari-wut-wa nityigani
[you/go-return-fut. tomorrow]
You will come back tomorrow.

An important feature of this verb class is that the actor/action morphemes for the first plural exclusive and second plural appear to be identical. With this verb class, also as indicated above, the bound form of the verb stem is not obligatory. It may be omitted and yet the sentence will remain complete. Examples will clarify this point.

kak tʸan ŋun-wa tawun
[away now I/go-fut. town]
I want to go to town.

tawun ŋin-a tʸuwunanan
[town I/go-past yesterday]
I went to town yesterday.

As was stated above, this parallels the usage in other languages within the Daly family, the first morpheme in the verb phrase indicating not only the actor but also the general field of activity within which the particular action, denoted by the bound form, is performed. Further reference will be made to this feature in the summary matrix of verbal affix forms below.

4.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Standing

Verb stems belonging to this class normally denote actions which are

performed in a standing position. The paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	kuna-X-a	natʔa-X-wa
<i>you</i>	kuna-X-a	ɲunta-X-wa
<i>he</i>	kuwa-X-a	katʔa-X-wa
<i>we inc.</i>	kumpa-X-nim-a	ɲumpa-X-nim-wa
<i>we exc.</i>	kirinʔa-X-a	ɲirinʔa-X-wa
<i>you pl.</i>	kininʔa-X-a	ninʔa-X-wa
<i>they</i>	kunʔa-X-a	pirinʔa-X-wa
<i>we dl.</i>	kumpa-X-a	ɲumpa-X-wa

Examples of usage:

nitʔinani natʔa-wul-wa
[tomorrow I/stand-return-fut.]
I shall come back tomorrow.

kuna-yarun-a tʔuwunanan
[I/stand-get up-past yesterday]
I got up yesterday.

muku kuwa-waliya-ya
[woman she/stand-dance-past]
The woman danced.

kuna-kap-a tʔuwunanan
[I/stand-call-past yesterday]
I called out yesterday.

In this verb class, as with the previous one, the bound form of the verb stem may be omitted, as utterances such as natʔawa *I shall stand* are complete even without the bound form.

4.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs of Sitting

Verbs belonging to this class normally denote actions performed in a sitting position. The paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	kanji-X-a	ɲawu-X-wa
<i>you</i>	kanji-X-a	ɲanti-X-wa
<i>he</i>	kuri-X-a	kawu-X-wa
<i>we inc.</i>	kampu-X-nim-a	ɲampu-X-nim-wa
<i>we exc.</i>	karkinʔ-X-a	ɲarkinʔ-X-wa
<i>you pl.</i>	kanjin-X-a	nawunʔ-X-wa
<i>they</i>	kawunʔ-X-a	parkinʔ-X-wa
<i>we dl.</i>	kampu-X-a	ɲampu-X-wa

Examples of usage:

kaŋi-kutiuk-a tʲuʷuŋanan
[I/sit-cough-past yesterday]
I coughed yesterday.

ŋawu-kutiuk-wa nitʲiŋani
[I/sit-cough-fut. tomorrow]
I shall cough tomorrow.

As with other Daly River main verb classes, this class also is independent, in that it does not require the presence of a bound verb stem to render the utterance complete. For example -kutiuk- may be removed from the above examples without rendering the sentence incomplete, as in the following:

ŋawu-wa nitʲiŋani
[I/sit-fut. tomorrow]
I shall sit down tomorrow.

4.5.1.6. Class 6: Verbs often involving cutting actions

The bound form members of this class are many and various, without any more obvious link than the fact that they often include verbs denoting destructive actions of some type, especially cutting actions. It is to be noted that this verb class always requires the presence of a bound form verb stem, and that the verb phrase would be incomplete without it. The paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋil-X-a	ŋupul-X-wa
<i>you</i>	kinil-X-a	pali-X-wa
<i>he</i>	kil-X-a	kupul-X-wa
<i>we inc.</i>	kumpul-X-nim-a	ɲumpul-X-nim-wa
<i>we exc.</i>	ki lŋki-X-a	ɲi lŋki-X-wa
<i>you pl.</i>	kinliŋki-X-a	na lŋki-X-wa
<i>they</i>	ku lŋki-X-a	pi lŋki-X-wa
<i>we dl.</i>	kumpul-X-a	ɲumpul-X-wa

Examples of usage:

kari|a ŋil-tut-a
[stone I/cut-find-past]
I found the money.

nitʲiŋani ɲupul-tut-wa
tomorrow I/cut-find-
I shall find the money tomorrow.

tawuR ɲil-kit-a
tree I/cut-it-chop-
 I cut the tree down.

tawuR kupul-kit-wa
tree he/cut-chop-
 He will cut down the tree.

4.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affixes

The Marithiel verb phrase consists of three main elements, the actor morpheme, the bound form of the verb stem and the tense auxiliary. As has been shown above, the actor morpheme not only indicates the actor, but also the general field of action within which the particular action denoted by the bound form is performed. With some verb classes, for example Class 6, it will be observed that the actor morpheme contains in fact two morphemes in which the cuts are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲi-l-	ɲupu-l-
<i>you</i>	kini-l-	pali-
<i>he</i>	ki-l-	kupu-l-
<i>we inc.</i>	kumpu-l-	ɲumpu-l-
<i>we exc.</i>	ki-l-iŋki-	ɲi-l-iŋki-
<i>you pl.</i>	kini-l-iŋki-	na-l-iŋki-
<i>they</i>	ku-l-iŋki-	pi-l-iŋki-
<i>we dl.</i>	kumpu-l-	ɲumpu-l-

In the above case, the element indicating the actor is clearly at least dimorphemic, sometimes trimorphemic. The formations may be summarised in the following table:

	1st inc.	1st exc.	2nd	3rd
singular	-	ɲi-l-	kini-l-	ki-l-
plural	kumpu-l-	ki-l-iŋki	kini-l-iŋki	ku-l-iŋki
dual	kumpu-l-	-	-	-

From the above it will be seen that a regular formative process is in operation in Marithiel verb morphology. With first person subjects, inclusive, the plural and dual actor morphemes are identical with a general form for all verb classes kumpu-. With first person subjects, exclusive, the form is Ki, the K representing a velar nasal in the singular and a velar stop in the plural. The plural marker -iŋki- is suffixed to the *action type* marker, in the above case -l-, indicating the general type of action within which the principal action of the

- 2) Intransitive V Phr = + Actor - Action Type marker
 - iŋki ± Verb Stem ± Auxiliary

Basically intransitive verb classes are potentially complete utterances without any bound form verb stem and never take an overt 'action type' marker, while transitive verbs are incomplete without a bound form verb stem and always require an overt 'action type' marker. For this reason, in the first part of the discussion of verbs, it was stated that the first morpheme in the verb phrase consisted of only one morpheme, whereas this in fact only partially the case.

The second nuclear element in the verb phrase is the bound form of the verb stem. These stems are always bound in Marithiel and occur both with transitive, that is for example with classes 1 and 6, and with intransitive (classes 2, 3, 4, 5) verb phrases. The verb stem may, however, occur as a free form with certain verb classes whose role is basically intransitive, under certain special conditions beyond the scope of the outline presented here. For further details, see Hoddinott (forthcoming).

The tense auxiliaries always occupy the final position in the verb phrase. They are -a/-ya for past tense and -wa for future tense. If the -a/-ya is dropped from a nonfuture verb phrase a present continuous is formed, while if the -wa is dropped from a future verb phrase an imperative is formed, as indicated above.

4.5.3. Impersonal Verbs

As is common with all the members of the Daly Family, verbs of state, such as being hot, cold, sick or sweaty are impersonal in Marithiel as the following examples will show:

purpur ki-l-iŋ-paw
 [cold it-cut-me-hurt]
 I am cold.

purpur ki-l-iŋ-paw-a tʷuwuŋanan
 [cold it-cut-me-hurt-past yesterday]
 I was cold yesterday.

(Now that the verb morphology has been described, the actor morpheme will from now on be divided into 'actor' and 'type of action' morphemes where appropriate. Thus kil- is analysed as ki-l- *it-cut-* rather than kil- *it/cut-* as it was in the sections preceding the verb morphology.

4.5.4. Direct Object

4.5.4.1. Noun Objects

In Marithiel the noun object normally follows any noun subject and occurs immediately before the verb phrase. In many Daly languages the noun object is repeated in pronominal form in the verb phrase, especially if it is an animate noun. In Marithiel the same applies. The pronoun object forms involved here are *-Ø-* for singular and *-ti-* for plural.

Examples:

karl!a ŋl-r-Ø-lir-a
[stone I-hand-it-pick up-past]
I picked up the stone.

watʷan kl-nʷ-Ø-kur-a
[dog he-destroy-it-hit-past]
He hit the dog.

The verb class in the last example belongs to verb class 7, not described in the paradigms above, but functioning in the same manner as any Marithiel transitive verb.

4.5.4.2. Pronoun Objects

The Marithiel pronoun object forms are as follows:

	Direct Object
me	-lŋ-, -uŋ-, -ŋi-
you	-lɛnʷ-, -nʷi-
him	-Ø-
her	-Ø-
us	-ŋki-, -nki- ...nim
us	-klɛl-
you	-ti-
them	-ti-
us	-ŋki-, -nki-

The pronoun direct object is suffixed to the actor and 'action type' markers in the verb phrase, as the following examples will show:

kl-nʷ-lŋ-kur-a tʷuwunanan
[he-destroy-me-hit-past yesterday]
He hit me yesterday.

ki-nʏ-inʏ-kur-a tʏuwuŋanan
 [he-destroy-you-hit-past yesterday]
 He hit you yesterday.

ki-l-iŋ-titip-a tʏuwuŋanan
 [he-cut-me-bite-past yesterday]
 He bit me yesterday.

ki-l-iŋki-titip-nim-a tʏuwuŋanan
 [he-destroy-us-bite-plur.-past yesterday]
 He bit us plural inclusive yesterday.

It is to be noted that the morphemes indicating first person singular and plural have more than one form, the changes being morphophonemically conditioned. It is interesting also that the forms for the second and third persons plural are identical. No ambiguity, however, appears to result.

4.5.5. Indirect Object

In Marithiel, unlike most other members of the Daly family there is not only a series of direct object pronouns, but also a series to indicate indirect object. The forms are as follows:

<i>me</i>	-ŋin-
<i>you</i>	-mpi-
<i>him</i>	-ni-
<i>her</i>	-ŋ-
<i>us inc.</i>	-ŋki- ...nim
<i>us exc.</i>	-kinʏ-
<i>you pl.</i>	-ninʏ-
<i>them</i>	-winʏ-
<i>us dl.</i>	-ŋki-

The indirect object occupies the same slot in the verb phrase as the direct pronoun objects just discussed above.

Examples:

maŋ ŋi-mpi-pup-a
 [stone I-you-give-past]
 I gave you the money.

maŋ ŋi-ni-pup-a
 [stone he-me-give-past]
 He gave me the money.

maŋ ki-ŋin-pup-a
 [stone he-me-give-past]
He gave me the money

maŋ ki-ŋki-pup-nim-a
 [stone he-us-give-plur.-past]
He gave us inclusive the money.

With noun indirect objects, the direct object usually precedes the verb phrase, the indirect object following the verb phrase. The noun indirect object is repeated in pronominal form within the verb phrase, as in the following example:

miyi ŋa-ni-pup-wa watʻan yikin
 [food I-him-give-fut. dog my]
I shall give some food to my dog.

4.5.6. Negation

Negation in Marithiel is indicated by the negative marker *ampi* which precedes the verb phrase.

Examples:

ampi ŋinti-ni-pup
 [not you/lie-him-give]
Do not give it to him.

ampi ŋin-wut-a
 [not I/go-walk-past]
I did not go.

ampi ŋin-a
 [not I/go-past]
I did not go.

4.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes in Marithiel include numerals, adverbs of time and manner, directionals and interrogatives.

4.6.1. Numerals

The numerals of Marithiel follow the same pattern as for other members of this family. They are:

1. ɲintʏl
2. tʏitʏukuni
3. nimpini
4. tʏitʏukuni tʏitʏukuni
5. muri ɲintʏl

The numeral normally follows the noun which it qualifies, as in the following:

watʏan muringintʏl *five dogs*

When a numeral and an adjective qualify the same noun, the numeral may precede the noun, as in:

nimpini ɲatta kapil *three big houses*
 nimpini ʔawuR ʔarkapil *three big trees*

4.6.2. Interrogatives

The most common Marithiel interrogatives are as follows:

nintʏa	<i>what?</i>
ɲinimpa	<i>who?</i>
kiminpa/kiminpaya	<i>when?</i>
nintʏawa	<i>why?</i>
arikampa	<i>how many?</i>
apen	<i>where?</i>

Interrogatives normally occupy the initial position in the sentence.

Examples:

nintʏa kini-r-putʏ
 [what you-hand-have]
What have you got?

nintʏawa kini-nʏ-uŋ-kur-a
 [why you-destroy-me-hit-past]
Why did you hit me?

arikampa yari kini-pil
 [how many child you/lie-down]
How many children do you have?

ɲinimpa yuwa meri
 [who there man]
Who is that man?

4.6.3. Adverbs and Directionals

The most common adverbs express time, manner and direction. Adverbs collected include the following:

tʷuwunanan	yesterday
nitʷi	last night
nitʷinani	tomorrow
pantitʷuwu	afternoon
nitʷima	day after tomorrow
tʷan	now
kak	away from the speaker

The time adverbs normally occur sentence initially, with the exception of tʷan, which may either precede or follow the verb phrase.

Examples:

pantitʷuwu ɲi-nʷ-kur-a watʷan yellitʷawuR kin-a
 [afternoon I-destroy-hit-past dog stick with-past]
I hit the dog with a stick this afternoon.

kak tʷan ɲun-wa tawun
 [away now I/go-fut. town]
I want to go to town.

4.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Marithiel word ordering may be represented in the following sentence formula:

± T ± L ± S ± DO ± IO + VPhr (+ Act ± Am ± PnO ± VS ± Aux) ± Inst ± L

The formula may be interpreted thus: The first elements in the sentence are normally time and/or location phrases. These may be followed by a noun subject, object and indirect object (although the noun indirect object often follows the verb phrase). Next comes the sentence kernel, the verb phrase consisting, as we have already seen, of an actor morpheme, a general action type morpheme, with transitive verbs, the pronoun object, either direct or indirect, the bound form verb stem, where transitive basically, and the tense auxiliary. The verb phrase may be followed by instrumental/agentive and locative phrases. This ordering has been exemplified above.

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4a. MARITYABIN

4a.1. GENERAL

Marityabin, a dialect of Marithiel, with which it shares 84% common cognates, based on a 200 word list, has several variant names and spellings, including: Maridyerbin, Maretyabin, Maretyaben, Murintjabin, Ngangityaben, Tangural and Tanggural.

It has roughly 20 speakers today, most of whom live on or close to the Daly River Mission. The traditional home of these people lies somewhere between Hermit Hill and Port Keats. Some informants further define it as being between Alligator Creek and the Moyle River, near the coast.

No information has previously been published on this dialect, although Oates (1970) reports that Hoddinott has collected a quantity of material at present under analysis by him. A short wordlist, by the present writer, appeared, however, in 1968 (Tryon 1968), as well as a short article on noun classification (Tryon 1970).

Marityabin is not mentioned in the Capell Survey (Capell 1963), but in the Oates Survey it is numbered 63Nr (Oates 1970:33).

Within the Daly Family, Marityabin is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity group, and within this is a member of the Brinken subgroup. As stated above, it is a dialect of Marithiel, the other dialects being Maridan and MareAmmu. Marityabin shares 84% common cognates with Marithiel, 88% with MareAmmu and 89% with Maridan. Within the subgroup it also shares 63% with Maramanandji and 68% with Marengar, based on a 200-word list.

4a.2. PHONEMES

A tentative listing of Marityabin phonemes is as follows:

a) Consonants:

p	t̪	t	(t̪)	tʷ	k
m		n	(ŋ)	nʷ	ŋ
w		l	(l̥)	yʷ	
		r	R		

Note: /t̪/ is often realised phonetically as an affricate, [tʃ] or [dʃ]; /t/ sometimes appears as [ʃ] or [ʒ]. /p/ is often realised as a bilabial fricative, especially in word initial position.

b) Vowels:

i	u
ø	
(e)	a

4a.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

4a.3.1. Noun Phrases

4a.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

Unmodified nouns fall into five classes, as for Marithiel, indicated by prefixes as follows:

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 1) | Ø- | body parts, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) | a- | animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) | mi- | edible plants and vegetable food. |
| 4) | yeli- | most weapons and wooden implements. |
| 5) | ɬa- | trees and some wooden implements. |

Examples:

piyl	head
a-wingai	mosquito
mi-kali	lily root
yeli-meltem	digging stick
ɬa-ɬawuR	tree

ma- and munti- are used sporadically to indicate masculine and feminine with humans, although the usage appears limited to the following examples:

ma-muleritʷ	cheeky person
ma-pintipinti	old man

munti-muku	woman
munti-kunukuni	old woman

When the noun head is modified by an adjective, the adjective follows the noun and shows concord with it.

Examples:

piyi kitla	big head
a-wamanġan a-kitla	big wallaby
mi-yi mi-kitla	big food
yeli-kunt ^y ikin ^y yeli-kitla	big boomerang
ġa-ġawuR ġa-kitla	big tree

It should be observed that adjectives which show concord in Marityabin are only commonly used ones such as *big*, *small*, *good*, *bad*. As with the other members of the Daly family, once less frequently used adjectives are introduced the concord system disappears.

4a.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

The five classes observed above also apply to possessive adjectives. As with Marithiel, the possessive phrase is indicated by the free form subject pronoun following the noun. The class-marking affix is prefixed to the pronoun (see 4a.4. for forms), as in the following examples:

piyi yikin	my head
a-wamanġan a-yikin	my wallaby
mi-kali mi-yikin	my lily root
yeli-meitem yeli-yikin	my digging stick
ġa-ġawuR ġa-yikin	my tree

Possessive phrases in Marityabin, then, are with minor variations identical with the forms for Marithiel.

4a.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

Marityabin being a dialect of Marithiel, the postpositions are nearly always identical. For example, *kin*, *by*, *with*, instrumental marker plays the same role in both.

kin^y-uŋ-kur-a yeli-ġawuR kin
 [he-me-hit-past class-wood with]
 He hit me with a stick.

4a.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

As with Marithiel, there are three series of personal pronouns, denoting subject, direct object and indirect object. The forms for the singular only will be given here, for comparative purposes. They are as follows:

	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object
<i>I</i>	yikin	-ŋin-	-uŋ-
<i>you</i>	nanʸ	-mpi-	-inʸ-
<i>he</i>	nan	-ni-	-Ø-

Examples of usage will be given in the next section, which deals with verb morphology. As was the case with Marithiel and as is general with all members of the Daly Family, the dual forms of pronouns are indicated by a dualising suffix, in this case -pini, added to the normal plural form. The only exception for this is for first person dual inclusive, which has a separate form ɲanʒi.

4a.5. THE VERB

4a.5.1. Verb Classes

Marityabin has the same verb classes as those described above, section 4.5., for Marithiel. There are, however, a few minor but diagnostic differences, mainly formal, within the verb classes.

As with Marithiel, the Marityabin verb phrase consists of:

+ Actor ± Verb Stems ± Tense Auxiliary

Verb stems, once again, are always bound. For comparative purposes, the first person singular forms for the six principal verb classes will be given, to be compared with the Marithiel forms listed above.

	Nonfuture	Future
Class 1 (Hands)	ŋir-X-a	ɲur-X-ni
Class 2 (Lying)	ŋi-X-a	ŋa-X-ni
Class 3 (Motion)	ŋin-X-a	ɲun-X-ni
Class 4 (Standing)	kuna-X-a	ŋatʸa-X-ni
Class 5 (Sitting)	kane-X-a	ɲawu-X-ni
Class 6 (Cutting)	ŋil-X-a	ɲupul-X-ni

Examples:

tapuwa yikin ŋi-r-pit-a
trousers my I/hands-wash
I washed my trousers.

nitvi-ya yerl ni-pai-a
[night-past dream I/lie-sleep-past]

I had a dream last night.

The most notable characteristic of the Marityabin verb phrase is the use of the future tense auxiliary -ni instead of the Marithiel -wa. Apart from this, verb paradigms in the two dialects are almost identical. Perhaps one innovation in Marityabin, unnoticed by the writer in Marithiel, is the use of an emphatic marker -ta-, which occurs between the verb stem and tense auxiliary.

Example:

tvi-paki ki-mpi-pup-ta-ya
[tobacco he-you-give-emphatic-past]

He gave you some tobacco.

4a.5.2. Negation

Negation is indicated by the negative marker ampi preceding the verb phrase. It may also occur in the sentence initial position.

Example:

ampi ni-l-tut-a
[not I/cut-find-past]

I did not find it.

4a.5.3. Direct Object

The pronoun objects listed above, 4a.4., are suffixed to the actor and *action type* markers in the verb phrase, summarised in the formula:

+ Actor/Action Type + PnO + Verb Stem ± Tense Auxiliaries

Examples:

kil-in-titip-a
[he/cut-me-bite-past aux.]

He bit me.

kinv-un-kur-a yeli jawuR kin
[he/destroy-me-hit-past Cl. wood with]

He hit me with a stick.

It will be noted that, as was the case in Marithiel, there are several morphophonemically conditioned allomorphs for first person singular direct object.'

In Marityabin, the noun object normally follows any noun subject and precedes the verb phrase. Animate noun objects are normally repeated in pronominal form in the verb phrase in most Daly River languages. The same applies in Marityabin, where the third person forms are -Ø- for

the singular and -ti- for the plural. With nonhuman noun objects, there is no pronominal referent in the verb phrase.

Examples:

tapuwa yikin ŋi-r-pit-a
[trousers my I/hand-wash-past]
I washed my trousers.

wamaŋkan ŋi-n-tip-a
[wallaby I/go-spear-past]
I speared a wallaby.

4a.5.4. Indirect Object

As with Marithiel, there is also a series of pronouns to denote indirect object, as listed above, 4a.4. The indirect object occupies the same slot in the verb phrase as the direct object pronoun.

Example:

ki-ŋin-pup-a tʲipaki
[he-me-give-past tobacco]
He gave me some tobacco.

Note that the noun object may precede or follow the verb phrase, as is the case throughout the Daly family.

4a.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

The other word classes of Marityabin are the same as for Marithiel. In this case only brief examples will be given.

4a.6.1. Numerals

The Marityabin numerals are the same as for Marithiel, with the exception of 5.

1. ŋintʲi
2. tʲitʲukuni
3. nimpini
4. tʲitʲukuni tʲitʲukuni
5. punti ŋintʲi

The numeral normally follows the noun which it qualifies.

Example:

warl ŋintʲi one year

4a.6.2. Interrogatives

The most common Marityabin interrogatives are as follows:

ɲintʲa	<i>what?</i>
ɲinimpa	<i>who?</i>
kumenpaya	<i>when? (past)</i>
nintʲeni	<i>why?</i>

Marityabin interrogatives are only minimally different from those listed for Marithiel; examples of usage will accordingly be omitted.

4a.6.3. Adverbs and Directionals

The most common adverbs, expressing time, manner and direction are again almost identical with the Marithiel forms.

Examples:

tʲuwuya	<i>yesterday</i>
nitʲiŋani	<i>tomorrow</i>
yeŋi	<i>today</i>

Syntactically adverbs behave exactly as for Marithiel.

4a.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Marityabin word ordering is identical with that described above, 4.7., for Marithiel, summed up in the formula:

± T ± L ± S ± DO ± IO + VPhr (+ Act ± AM ± PnO ± VS ± Aux) ± Inst ± L

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¹Items of linguistic interest indicated with asterisk beside title.

4b. MAREAMMU

MareAmmu, previously called Nganygit by the present writer, was not reported until 1968 (Tryon 1968), when it was classified as a dialect of Marithiel, within the Brinken subgroup of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. As was the case with Maridan, this subgrouping was based solely on lexico-statistical criteria. Subsequent morphological and syntactic comparison has revealed it to be identical, on the morphological level, to Marityabin, described above, (Section 4a).

However, on the lexical level, there are sufficient differences for the two groups to be separated, perhaps as sub-dialects. Examples of such lexical differences are as follows:

Marityabin	MareAmmu	English
marl	puma	<i>name</i>
wamanʔkan	piranʔ	<i>wallaby</i>
malawuR	piriri	<i>axe</i>
wirir	marawuk	<i>wind</i>
penni	punpun	<i>dust</i>
kitla	kapil	<i>big</i>
muntak	tayan	<i>old</i>

Lexical differences between the two subdialects are not considerable, as a shared cognate percentage of 85% based on a 200-word list suggests, since this figure is probably too conservative. The phonologies of Marityabin and MareAmmu appear to be identical.

It should be observed that the term Nganygit refers to the traditional territory of MareAmmu speakers, not the dialect itself as previously believed.

4c. MARIDAN

In previous literature, Maridan (Maredan) has also been called Nordanimin (Stanner 1933, reported in Oates 1970). The present writer (Tryon 1968 and 1970) has recorded only the former term, with Maridan being considered a dialect of Marithiel, together with Marityabin and MareAmmu. As was suggested above, this subdivision, based purely on lexico-statistical criteria, must be revised on the basis of morphological and syntactic comparisons, which have revealed that Maridan morphology and syntax are identical in every respect to that described above for Marithiel, in the same way that MareAmmu and Marityabin have been shown to be sub-dialects.

The lexico-statistical comparison, on which the previous classification was based, was re-examined, revealing that while Marithiel and Maridan shared approximately 90% common cognates on a 200-word list, as reported in Tryon 1968, a closer examination would raise the percentage of shared cognates to higher than 95%, or an almost identical lexical inventory. Accordingly, Maridan and Marithiel can for all practical purposes be considered synonymous and indeed are so considered by some aboriginal groups in the Daly River area. However, other groups within the area distinguish between Marithiel and Maridan. The only linguistic basis for such a distinction observed by the present writer is that Marithiel /l/ corresponds irregularly to Maridan /r/, as in the following examples:

	Marithiel	Maridan
<i>blood</i>	wulkirim	wirkirim
<i>mouth</i>	ɲal	ɲar
<i>cheeky</i>	muleretʏ	mureretʏ
<i>return</i>	-wul-	-wur-

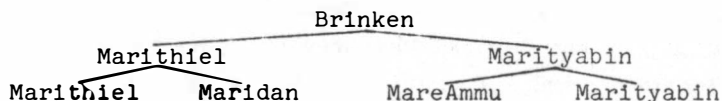
<i>flying fox</i>	akilin ^{vin}	akirin ^{vin}
<i>canoe</i>	t ^{va} lwu	t ^{va} rwu
<i>rainbow</i>	a ^{ta} timel	a ^{ta} timer

The fact that the l/r correspondence occurs only sporadically could perhaps be explained as reflecting a previous dialect difference, all but lost at the present time because of constant contact and inter-marriage between the two clans, especially in view of the declining population in the Daly River area within this linguistic group. Morphological and syntactic differences, probably in the order of the difference between Marithiel and Marityabin, have possibly been neutralised with the merger of the two clans, if indeed they were two distinct clans in times past. Because of the extensive detribalisation which has taken place within the Daly Area, the task of reconstructing the original position of the various linguistic groups with complete accuracy is not possible at the present time.

The Marithiel dialects, then, fall into two groups, on morphological grounds, each with two members, as follows:

1. Marithiel - Maridan
2. Marityabin - MareAmmu

This could be represented diagrammatically thus:



This possibly corresponds to moiety systems within the region, although with the detribalisation which has taken place in the Daly area since the early 1930s such a hypothesis would be almost impossible to verify.

All of the Brinken dialects are almost identical morphologically, with minor innovations in the two subgroups, such as -wa, marking future tense in Marithiel/Maridan, while -ni fills this function in Marityabin/MareAmmu. In fact the Brinken subgroup, including Marengar and Maraman-andji manifests morphological similarities of a much higher order than any other subgroup within the Daly Family.

5. MARAMANANDJI

5.1. GENERAL

Maramanandji has several variant names and spellings, the best known of which are as follows: Maramanandji, Maramanindji, Marimanindji, Marimanindu, Murinmanindji and Marekaganda. The term Maramanandji means literally *what language?* from *mara-*, *language* and *manandji*, *what?*. This follows the pattern of many of the Daly River languages, where the aboriginal equivalent of *what?* is usually distinctive in each language.

Maramanandji is spoken today by a maximum of twenty speakers, a few of whom reside at the Daly River and surrounding cattle stations, the remainder living in bush camps closer to Darwin. According to Capell (1963: Area N, 55) the home of the Maramanandjis lies somewhere south of Hermit Hill, in the Central Daly region. Stanner (1933:382) agrees with this location, and information gathered by the present writer confirms this position. Needless to say, the traditional territory of the Maramanandji has long been abandoned in favour of sites closer to European centres.

As far as previously published material on Maramanandji is concerned, Capell (1963) reports that nothing on the language had been published before the time of his survey and that in fact the only information on it at all was a few notes collected by Capell himself many years prior to 1963. Since that time, a short word-list has appeared (Tryon 1968) and a brief description of the concord system (Tryon 1970a). However, Maramanandji is mentioned in several anthropological works, listed in the sectional bibliography.

In the Capell survey, Maramanandji was assigned the number N55; in

the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies files its number is N16, while in the Oates revised survey the number allotted to Maramanandji is 39.2.

Within the Daly Family, Maramanandji is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, and within this is a member of the Brinken sub-group, along with Marengar and Marithiel and its dialects. Percentages of shared cognates within the sub-group are as follows:

	Maramanandji	Marithiel	Marengar
Maramanandji	-	63%	54%
Marithiel	63%	-	68%
Marengar	54%	68%	-

5.2. PHONEMES

The following is a tentative listing of the phonemes of Maramanandji:

a) Consonants:

p	(t)	t	t̥	tʷ	k
m		n	n̥	nʷ	ŋ
w		l	l̥	y	
		r	R		

b) Vowels:

i	u
e	a

Notes on Maramanandji phonology: While the material collected in this language does not permit a definitive phonemic analysis certain features are noteworthy. There is almost certainly no phonemic opposition between voiced and voiceless stops. /p/ appears to have allophones [p-b-p-β]; the bilabial fricatives appear regularly as variants within the Brinken sub-group. The alveolar stop /t/ is sometimes realised as a dental stop or interdental. However, on the evidence of the material collected by the present writer, a phonemic distinction between them is doubtful.

5.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

5.3.1. Noun Phrases

5.3.1.1. Noun Classes

Unmodified nouns fall into five classes, indicated by prefixes, in exactly the same manner as the other members of this sub-group. The classes and corresponding prefixes are as follows:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) a- | with birds and animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) mi- | with edible vegetables and plants. |
| 4) yali- | with most wooden implements, and some weapons, excluding <i>spear</i> . |
| 5) ɬar- | with trees and some wooden implements. |

Examples:

wɛŋi	<i>cloud</i>
marawuk	<i>wind</i>
a-piri	<i>possum</i>
a-milikir	<i>crow</i>
mi-purayi	<i>lily root</i> sp.
mi-ŋari	<i>lily root</i> sp.
yali-meltem	<i>yam stick</i>
yali-mitʔampa	<i>flat nullanulla</i>
ɬar-mawunʔ	<i>ironwood</i>

Two other class markers are also used occasionally, although much less frequently than those just described. They are *wun̥ku-* to indicate female animates and *wati-* to indicate male animates. For example:

yitin wun̥ku-pekɪ	<i>bitch</i>
yitin wati-memere	<i>dog</i>

When an adjective modifies a noun, it follows the noun and shows concord for class. The same markers are prefixed to both the noun and the adjective, as in the following examples:

wati kapɪɪ	<i>big man</i>
tʔenti kapɪɪ	<i>big spear</i>
a-yemɪ a-kapɪɪ	<i>big kangaroo</i>
miyi mi-kapɪɪ	<i>big food</i>
yali-tatimir yali-kapɪɪ	<i>big boomerang</i>
ɬawuR ɬar-kapɪɪ	<i>big tree</i>

The adjective is normally invariable, but may undergo partial or complete reduplication, as is the case with the other members of the Brinken sub-group.

5.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

The same five classes apply also to possessive adjectives. When the noun is pronominally possessed, the possessive adjective follows the

noun which it modifies. When both an adjective and possessive adjective modify the same noun, the adjective precedes the possessive. The possessive adjectives in Maramanandji are the same as the free form subject pronouns, to be listed below in the appropriate section.

Examples of usage:

yitln yikln	<i>my dog</i>
pekl yikln	<i>my wife</i>
miyl mi-yikln	<i>my food</i>
awu a-yikln	<i>my meat</i>

There appear to be no special possessive forms for kinship terms, as there are in the other sub-groups of the Brinken-Wogaity Group.

5.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

In Maramanandji there are three series of personal pronouns, as with Marithiel and Marengar. These indicate pronoun subject, direct object and indirect object. Only the subject pronoun occurs as a free form. The object forms are simply listed here for comparative purposes; their usage will be treated during the discussion of verb morphology. The forms are as follows:

	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
<i>I</i>	yikln	-ŋ- -ŋi-	-ŋln-
<i>you</i>	nanʸ	-nʸ- -nʸi-	-mpu-
<i>he</i>	naŋ	-Ø-	-ni-
<i>she</i>	ŋiya	-Ø-	-ŋ-
<i>we pl.inc.</i>	ŋaŋklwinʸlm	-ŋkl-	-ŋkl-
<i>we pl.exc.</i>	katl	-kitl-	-klinʸ-
<i>you pl.</i>	natl	-ti-	-ninʸ-
<i>they</i>	winʸi	-ti-	-winʸ-
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	ŋaŋkl	-ŋkl-	-ŋkl-
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	katl-pl		
<i>you dl.</i>	natl-pi		
<i>they dl.</i>	winʸ-pi		

It will be observed that the only dual form with a separate form is *ŋaŋkl*, *we two* inclusive. The remaining dual pronouns are directly derivable from the plural by the addition of the dualiser *-pi*. It should also be noted that while two series of object pronouns exist, with plural pronoun object there is a tendency to use the direct object form where an indirect object form would normally be used in the other languages of this sub-group. Further comment on this point will be

made below during the discussion of verb morphology.

Exceptionally in this subgroup, Maramanandji appears to have not only a singular, dual and plural, but also a trial with pronouns, at least for pronoun subjects. However, they appear to be formed directly from the plural by the addition of the trial suffix: -ninimpi.

Examples:

kati-ninimpi	<i>we three exclusive</i>
nati-ninimpi	<i>you three</i>
wini-nimpi	<i>they three</i>
OR	
wati-ninimpi	<i>they three (three men)</i>

It will also be observed from the listing of pronominal forms above that with the direct object, the second and third persons plural have identical forms, as was the case in Marithiel.

5.5. THE VERB

5.5.1. Verb Classes

As with the other members of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, there are numerous verb classes in Maramanandji, the classes being almost identical to those listed for Marithiel as follows:

- 1) Actions performed mainly with the hands.
- 2) Actions performed mainly in a lying position.
- 3) Verbs of motion from place to place.
- 4) Actions performed in a standing position.
- 5) Actions performed sitting down.
- 6) Actions involving cutting.
- 7) Throwing actions.
- 8) Verbs of seeing and perceiving.
- 9) Verbs of catching.
- 10) Verbs of acquiring.
- 11) Verbs of drinking and/or dying.
- 12) Verbs of talking and saying.
- 13) Verbs of causing movement.
- 14) Verbs of falling.
- 15) Verbs of wanting and requiring.

As with Marithiel, which is very similar to Maramanandji from a structural point of view, the verb phrase in Maramanandji may be summed up in the following formula:

+ Actor ± Verb Stem ± Tense auxiliary

Each verb phrase consists normally of three morphemes; the first of these indicates the actor and general type of action, for example sitting, standing, motion etc. This morpheme has two forms, future and non-future. The forms are different for each verb class. The second morpheme in the verb phrase is the verb stem itself, always bound, apart from the exception to be discussed below. The third morpheme represents the tense auxiliaries, future and non-future.

As the verb classes are the same as those previously described for Marithiel, and since the paradigms are practically identical apart from those involving singular actors, the singular only will be given for the six main verb classes, as follows:

5.5.1.1. *Class 1: Actions performed mainly with the hands.*

	Non-future	Future
<i>I</i>	kinir-X-a	gur-X-we
<i>you</i>	kinir-X-a	ari-X-we
<i>he</i>	kari-X-a	kur-X-we

Examples:

yeri tyapat^y kinir-Ø-pet-a
 [child small I/hands-him-wash-past aux.]
I washed the baby.

kari-purit^y nimpī-lā yai(i)-tatimir
 [he/hands-make you-for weapon-boomerang]
He is making a boomerang for you.

yikin kur-purit^y nini-i-we yai(i)-tatimir
 [me he/hands-make me-for-fut. weapon-boomerang]
He will make a boomerang for me.

The tense auxiliaries are -a or -ya, to indicate completed action and -we to indicate futurity. If the auxiliary -a is deleted, a present continuous is formed, as in the second example given, while the deletion of -we indicates an imperative or immediate future. It is worthy of note, too, that the benefactive occurs after the verb stem. This is rather unusual for the Brinken sub-group, since in Marithiel and Marengar all pronominal forms, direct and indirect object occur before the verb stem. In fact in both Marengar and Marithiel the benefactive are expressed by the indirect object pronoun. The tense distinctions in Maramanandji are the same as for the other members of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. With verb classes which are basically transitive, such as Class 1, the verb stem is always required and always occurs in bound form. As will be seen below, this is not the case with verb classes

whose role is primarily intransitive.

For a discussion of plural and dual forms, see the appropriate section in the description of Marithiel, as at this point the morphology of the two languages is identical for all practical purposes.

5.5.1.2. *Class 2: Verbs denoting actions mainly performed lying down*

Many of the verb stem members of this class denote actions which are normally performed in a lying position. The singular affix paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	kiŋi-X-a	ŋa-X-we
<i>you</i>	kini-X-a	ŋinti-X-we
<i>he</i>	ka-X-a	ka-X-we

Examples:

tʷurnantʷi kiŋi-peɪ-a
[yesterday you/lie-sleep-fut.aux.]
I had a sleep yesterday.

nitʷiŋani ŋinti-peɪ-we
[tomorrow you/lie-sleep-fut.aux.]
Are you going to sleep tomorrow?

Class 2 is basically intransitive, and accordingly the bound form verb stem may be omitted without rendering the verb phrase incomplete. Thus kiŋi-ya means simply *I lay down*. This feature is common to all the member languages of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. To this point, it will be observed that the verb phrase in Marithiel and Maramanandji are practically identical, the major difference being the addition of the prefix ki- to the first person singular non-future. In Marithiel, for example, the actor morpheme for this person in this verb class is ŋi- while in Maramanandji as we have seen it is kiŋi-.

5.5.1.3. *Class 3: Verbs of Motion*

The verb stem members of this class normally denote actions involving movement from place to place, such as walking, climbing, running and swimming. The affix paradigm for singular actors is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	kiŋin-X-a	ŋun-X-we
<i>you</i>	kin-X-a	wari-X-we
<i>he</i>	kani-X-a	kun-X-we

Examples:

kinin-Ø-tu-ya makulpi nini
[I/motion-hit-past waddy with]
I hit him with a nullanulla.

kinin-wut-a tawun
[I/motion-walk-past town]
I walked to town.

tʏenti purukpuruk kinin-tutʏ-a
[wood firestick I/motion-pick up-past aux.]
I picked up the firestick.

As the basic role of this verb class is intransitive, despite what the examples given may suggest, the bound form of the verb stem may be omitted without rendering the verb phrase incomplete. Thus kinin-a alone means *I went*.

5.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Standing

Most of the actions denoted by members of this verb class indicate actions normally performed in a standing position. the singular affixes are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	kuŋa-X-a	ŋatʏa-X-we
<i>you</i>	kuna-X-a	tʏuŋu-X-we
<i>he</i>	kuwa-X-a	katʏa-X-we

Examples:

yu nitʏinani ŋatʏa-wul-we
[yes tomorrow I/stand-return-fut.aux.]
Yes, I shall come back tomorrow.

nitʏinani tʏuŋu-wul-we
[tomorrow you/stand-return-fut.aux.]
Will you come back tomorrow?

The only departure from Marithiel in this verb class is the form tʏuŋu- to express the actor for second person singular in the future tense. Apart from this, the affixes for Class 4 are identical in Maramanandji and Marithiel.

5.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs of Sitting

As might be expected, the verb stems which belong to this class normally indicate actions usually performed in a sitting position. The

affixes are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	kanl-X-a	ḡawu-X-we
<i>you</i>	kanḡl-X-a	ḡanpu-X-we
<i>he</i>	kiri-X-a	kawu-X-we

Examples:

tʸurnantʸi kanl-pa-ya
[*yesterday I/sit-rest-past aux.*]
Yesterday I had a rest.

nitʸiḡani ḡawu-pa-we
[*tomorrow I/sit-rest-fut.aux.*]
I shall have a rest tomorrow.

With this verb class the singular forms for the actor/general type of action differ more significantly from Marithiel. Omission of the bound form verb stem is also possible here, following the rule stated above.

5.5.1.6. *Class 6: Verbs involving cutting Actions*

The members of this verb class are not so obviously linked as those of previous classes, although they often denote actions of a destructive nature, usually involving cutting of some type. The singular affixes are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	kiḡil-X-a	ḡupul-X-we
<i>you</i>	kinli-X-a	ali-X-we
<i>he</i>	kul-X-a	kupul-X-we

Examples:

tʸurnini tʸentʸi kiḡil-kit-a
[*recently wood I/cut-chop-past aux.*]
I recently chopped the wood.

nitʸiḡani tʸentʸi ḡupul-kit-we
[*tomorrow wood I/cut-chop-fut.aux.*]
I shall chop the wood tomorrow.

5.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

The affixes used in Maramanandji verb phrases are very much the same as those described in more detail for Marithiel. As with Marithiel, the first morpheme, or what has up until the present been considered as a single morpheme, is in fact regularly divisible into two morphemes with

verb classes whose role is basically transitive, like Class 6 above. The paradigm would have been more correctly set out as:

kiŋi-l-X-a	ŋupu-l-X-we
kini-l-X-a	a-l-l-X-we
ku-l-X-a	kupu-l-X-we

The morpheme -l- indicates the general type of action, namely *cutting* in this instance. It is interesting to note that this same morpheme plays the same role throughout the Brinken-Wogaity group. For purposes of clarity of exposition, the division of the actor into its two component morphemes with transitive verb classes has not been made until this point. With verb classes which are basically intransitive, such as sitting, standing, and lying actions, the division of the actor into two morphemes is fruitless, for all practical purposes.

As far as verb stems are concerned, as was suggested above, with all verb classes whose role is basically transitive, the bound form of the stem is obligatory and nuclear to all verb phrases. However, with classes whose basic role is intransitive, the bound form stem may be omitted entirely without rendering the verb phrase incomplete. Examples have been cited above. Perhaps more interesting from a comparative viewpoint is the fact that with intransitive classes, not only may the bound form be omitted from the close-knit verb phrase, but it may appear as a free form, preceding the affix complex, as in the following example:

kiŋi-ma I talk

(this class, verbs of saying, not presented in detail in this sketch, is basically intransitive)

BUT

ŋuŋuk kiŋi-ma
[snore I-talk]
I snored.

This usage is an exact parallel to that in the Wogaity and Maranunggu sub-groups, namely in Maranunggu, Manda, Ami and Wadyiginy, although the free form verb stem has been encountered only rarely with the other members of the Brinken sub-group, Marithiel and Marengar.

The usage and forms for the tense auxiliaries has already been described above. A summary formula for the two Maramanandji verb types would be as follows:

- 1) Transitive: + Actor + Action type ± lŋki + Verb stem ± Aux.
- 2) Intransitive: ± Stem (free) + Actor ± Action Type - lŋki ± VS ± Aux.

Within this sub-group, then, there appears to be a clear difference morphosyntactically between transitive and intransitive, although the semantic difference between the two types is most difficult to pin down.

5.3.3. Impersonal Verbs

As with all other members of the Daly Family, verbs of state, particularly verbs expressing the feeling that one is hot, cold, thirsty or hungry, are treated impersonally, the heat, cold etc. becoming the actor.

Example:

tʲurɲantʲi kiti-ŋ-minʲir-a
[yesterday it/?-me-thirst-past aux.]
I was thirsty yesterday.

5.5.4. Direct Object

5.5.4.1. Noun Objects

In Maramanandji, as elsewhere in this language family, the noun object normally follows the noun subject if expressed. If the noun object is animate, it is normally repeated within the verb phrase in pronominal form. In this case, the object forms are -Ø- for singular and -ti- for plural.

Examples:

tʲurɲantʲi kini-r-Ø-pet-a yeri tʲapatʲ
[yesterday you-hands-him-wash-past aux. baby small]
Did you wash the baby yesterday?

ayami kini-nʲ-Ø-tip-a
[kangaroo I-destroy-him-spear-past aux.]
I speared a kangaroo.

5.5.4.2. Pronoun Objects

The direct object pronoun forms are as follows:

<i>me</i>	-ŋi-, -ŋi-
<i>you</i>	-nʲ-, -nʲi-
<i>him</i>	-Ø-
<i>her</i>	-Ø-
<i>us inc.</i>	-ŋki-, -nini-
<i>us exc.</i>	-kiti-

<i>you</i> pl.	-ti-
<i>them</i>	-ti-
<i>us</i> dl.inc.	-ŋki-

The pronoun direct object is suffixed to the actor and type of action morphemes, always occurring before the verb stem as in the following examples:

yitin ki-ii-ŋ-tutur-a tʸurŋantʸi
 [dog he-cut-me-bite-past yesterday]
The dog bit me yesterday.

yitin ki-ii-nʸ-tutur-a
 [dog he-cut-you-bite-past aux.]
Did the dog bite you?

tʸurŋantʸi kinʸ-uŋ-tu-ya
 [yesterday he-destroy-me-hit-past aux.]
He hit me yesterday.

This pattern parallels the usage in Marithiel with minor differences. However, the writer has observed that the present day Maramanandji tend to use indirect object forms with plural direct pronoun objects, although the correct direct object forms are also used. However, with singular objects only the direct object forms are used. The cause of the confusion with plural direct objects is rather puzzling, since in Marithiel, the nearest language geographically and socially, no confusion exists. As will have been observed, the pronoun object forms for Maramanandji and Marithiel are practically identical.

5.5.5. Indirect Object

In Maramanandji, as in the other languages of this sub-group, there exists also a series of pronouns to indicate indirect object. This feature appears to be limited to the Brinken-Wogaity and Tyemerl Groups. The forms are as follows:

<i>me</i>	-ŋin-
<i>you</i>	-mpu-
<i>him</i>	-ni-
<i>her</i>	-ŋ-
<i>us</i> inc.	-ŋki-...nini
<i>us</i> exc.	-kinʸ-
<i>you</i> pl.	-ninʸ-
<i>them</i>	-winʸ-
<i>us</i> dl.inc.	-ŋki-
<i>us</i> dl.exc.	-kinʸ-...pini

The indirect object pronoun occupies the same place in the verb phrase as the direct object discussed above.

Examples:

awu ka-win^y-pup-we
[meat he-them-give-fut.aux.]
He will give them some beef.

(Note: With this verb class, as with Maranunggu, there is no morpheme indicating *type of action*.)

awu ka-nin-pup-we
[meat he-me-give-fut.aux.]
He will give me some beef.

awu ka-kin^y-pup-pini-we
[meat he-us exc.-give-dual-fut.aux.]
He will give us two exclusive some beef.

Note that as with the other members of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, the dual marker occurs after the verb stem.

5.5.6. Negation

Negation in Maramanandji is indicated by the negative marker *mampi*, which precedes the verb phrase. If a noun subject or object occurs, the negative marker precedes these, and may even occur sentence initially.

Examples:

mampi t^yent^yi kiŋi-l-kit-a
[not wood I-cut-chop-past aux.]
I did not chop the wood.

mampi-ya kiŋi-r-pui-a t^yenti nan^y
[not-past I-hand-break-past spear your]
I did not break your spear.

Note that the completed action marker *-a/-ya* may be suffixed to the negative marker as well as the verb phrase. This feature is fairly widespread throughout the Daly Family.

5.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes in Maramanandji include numerals, adverbs of time and manner, directionals and interrogatives.

5.6.1. Numerals

The numerals of Maramanandji are as follows:

1. ɲandʏpe
2. pinʏiti
3. alikinti
4. pinʏiti pinʏiti
5. pukinti ɲandʏpe

The numeral normally follows the noun which it modifies, as in the following example:

yitin alikinti *three dogs*

5.6.2. Interrogatives

The most common Maramanandji interrogatives are as follows:

kiɲɲipe	<i>when?</i>
manantʏi	<i>what?</i>
kiɲɲipe	<i>who?</i>
manantʏi-we	<i>why? (fut.)</i>
tʏɲuku	<i>where?</i>

Interrogatives normally occupy the sentence initial position, as in the following example:

kiɲɲipe kani-wut
who he/go-walk
Who is that walking?

Which? is conveyed by the same interrogative, positioned after the noun subject, as in:

merɪ kiɲɲipe kani-wut?
Who is that man walking over there?
 OR
Which man is walking over there?

5.6.3. Adverbs and Directionals

Adverbs collected by the present writer include mainly time adverbs, as in the list:

niɪtʏi	<i>night-time</i>
niɪtʏɲani	<i>tomorrow</i>
yaɲɪ	<i>today</i>
tʏurnantʏi	<i>yesterday</i>
tʏurnini	<i>recently</i>

etveri

afternoon

kak

away from the speaker

Time adverbs normally occur sentence initially, although it is not uncommon to find them after the verb phrase, especially if the sentence contains an interrogative. Manner and directional adverbs either immediately precede or follow the verb phrase. No examples of adverbial usage will be given here, as numerous examples have been cited above.

5.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Maramanandji word order may be summed up in the following formula:

$$\begin{array}{c} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T \\ Interr \end{array} \right. \pm L \pm S \pm DO \pm IO + VPhr (+ Act \pm AM \pm O \pm VS \pm Ben \pm Aux) \pm \\ Inst \pm L \pm T \end{array}$$

This ordering is the same as that described above for Marithiel. The kernel of the sentence is the Verb Phrase, whose components have been described at length during the discussion of verb morphology. The Verb Phrase may be preceded by Time, Interrogative or Location phrases, and Noun Subject, Direct and Indirect Object, and followed by any Agent or Instrument, Time or Location Phrase. In fact, apart from the composition of the verb phrase, the Sentence has nearly always the same structure throughout the Daly Family.

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6. MARENGAR

6.1. GENERAL

Marengar has several variant names and spellings, the best known of which are as follows: Marengar, Maringar, Merringar, Muringa, Mari'ngar and Ngangikadre. In previous bibliographical literature, especially Craig (1966), and Oates (1970), Marengar has been deemed a variant name for Maranunggu. In fact, the two are distinct languages although they both belong to the same Group within the Daly Family, namely the Brinken-Wogaity Group.

The traditional territory of Marengar speakers is around the Moyle River near Port Keats. In fact the word moyll is a Marengar word, meaning *swamp*. As is the case with other members of the Daly Family, the traditional home has been abandoned as a permanent home for many years, Marengar speakers now living at Port Keats and Daly River and nearby cattle stations. At the present time there would remain only approximately thirty to forty speakers of Marengar as a first language.

Very little has been written on Marengar in the past. Stanner is reported (Oates 1970:32) as having collected a wordlist, while the only published material appears to be a ninety five word list, compiled by the present writer (Tryon 1968), and information on noun classes and concord in Marengar (Tryon 1970). Because of the confusion with Maranunggu, no other published material on Marengar has been traced.

Within the published classifications of Australian languages, Marengar is assigned the number 61Nr in Oates (1970), while Capell (1963) makes no mention of it. Apparently Marengar is also a variant name for Burara, far from the Daly River area, this being the only connection in which Capell makes mention of it.

Marengar, then, is a member of the Daly Family and within this belongs to the Brinken-Wogaity Group. Within this group it is a member of the Brinken sub-group, which consists of three distinct languages, namely Marengar, Maramanandji and Marithiel. Marithiel of course has several dialects, mention of which was made above. Percentages of shared cognates within the sub-group are as follows:

	Marengar	Marithiel	Maramanandji
Marengar	-	68%	54%
Marithiel	68%	-	63%
Maramanandji	54%	63%	-

In fact, Marengar, on the basis of shared cognate percentages is closest to MareAmmu, one of the dialects of Marithiel. The fact that Marithiel is more closely related to Marengar than is Maramanandji is not surprising when it is considered that Maramanandji lies to the east and north of Marithiel geographically while Marengar lies to the south and west.

6.2. PHONEMES

A tentative listing of the phonemes of Marengar is as follows:

a) Consonants:

p	(t)	t	t̥	tʷ	k
m		n	ɳ	nʷ	ŋ
		l	ɭ		
w		r	R	y	

b) Vowels:

i	u
e	a

Notes on the phonemic inventory: Apart from the fact that there appears to be no phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops, [p] appears to have a bilabial fricative variant which occurs often; /t/ is sometimes heard as alveolar and sometimes as a dental stop. The material collected was insufficient to establish any firm phonemic distinction between the two realisations. /tʷ/ is sometimes realised phonetically as [ʃ], while /r/ appears to have a voiceless variant realisation. Apart from lacking a central vowel, the phonology of Marengar is almost identical to that outlined above for Marithiel.

6.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

6.3.1. Noun Phrases

6.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

Unmodified nouns fall into four major classes, each class being indicated by a prefix, as with the other members of this language family, as follows:

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 1) | Ø- | with parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) | a- | with animals and birds hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) | mi- | with edible vegetables and plants. |
| 4) | yeri- | with most weapons and wooden implements, excluding spears. |

Examples:

maR	<i>hair</i>
mi	<i>eye</i>
a-puRa	<i>pelican</i>
a-pan	<i>snake</i>
mi-ŋa	<i>lily root</i>
mi-wutlil	<i>round yam</i>
yeri-kuntʔikinʔ	<i>boomerang</i>
yeri-ɬawuR	<i>yam-stick</i>

Two minor classes are indicated by ma- to indicate male humans, and muli- to indicate female humans.

Examples:

ma-pintipinti	<i>old man</i>
ma-wurit	<i>cheeky person</i>
muli-kunukunu	<i>old woman</i>
muli-putput	<i>pregnant woman</i>

Younger Marengar speakers tend to dispense with the class marking prefixes for classes 1 to 4, although the male/female human prefixes are retained by all speakers. The tendency to drop class markers in non-formal speech is common in all of the Daly languages. Marengar too appears to lack the class marking prefix ɬar-, used in the other languages of the Brinken sub-group with trees.

When a noun head is modified by an adjective, the adjective follows the noun and shows concord with it for class. The adjectival prefixes are the same as those used with unmodified nouns, as in the following examples:

watʔan kati	<i>good dog</i>
watʔan kitliŋa	<i>big dog</i>
a-wartiwan a-kati	<i>good kangaroo</i>
a-wartiwan a-wintʔen	<i>bad kangaroo</i>
mi-wutlil mi-kitliŋa	<i>big round yam</i>
miyi mi-kitliŋa	<i>big food</i>
yeri-kuntʔikinʔ yeri-kati	<i>good boomerang</i>

yeri-kuntʷikinʷ yeri-wintʷen	<i>bad boomerang</i>
ma-pintipinti ma-kitiŋa	<i>big old man</i>
ma-pintipinti ma-yipeʔi	<i>little old man</i>

Adjectives are usually unmarked for singular/plural, although when plurality is stressed partial or complete reduplication may take place, as with Marithiel described above.

Rather exceptionally, Marengar numerals also exhibit concord with the noun head. For this reason they are treated in this section, rather than under the heading *Other Word Classes* below. The numerals of Marengar are as follows:

1. ɲintʷi
2. tʷitʷuk
3. animpir
4. tʷitʷuk tʷitʷuk
5. punti ɲintʷi

Examples:

ma-pintipinti ma-ɲintʷi	<i>one old man</i>
ma-me ma-ɲintʷi	<i>one man</i>

Concord extends also to other quantitative modifiers such as *many* and *few*. For example:

ma-pintipinti ma-ŋaipu	<i>many old men</i>
mi-wutiii mi-ŋaipu	<i>many round yams</i>

It should be noted however, that younger speakers rarely if ever include class marking prefixes with numerals or quantitative adjectives.

6.3.1.2. *Possessive Phrases*

In Marengar, concord extends to possessive adjectives, the same classes being observed as for other noun modifiers. The possessive adjectives, a list of which follows, follow the noun which they modify.

yin	<i>my</i>
ninʷ	<i>your sg.</i>
naŋ	<i>his</i>
ŋa	<i>her</i>
kaŋkinim	<i>our pl.inc.</i>
tʷar	<i>our pl.exc.</i>
ner	<i>your pl.</i>
niwɪr	<i>their</i>
kaŋki	<i>our dl.inc.</i>
karti	<i>our dl.exc.</i>

narti	<i>your</i> dl.
niwin	<i>their</i> dl.

It will be observed that several of the dual forms are derivatives of the plural form.

Examples:

punŋitiŋa	<i>her</i> head
waŋvan yin	<i>my</i> dog
a-marti a-yin	<i>my</i> barramundi
a-wartiwaŋ a-ninʷ	<i>your</i> kangaroo
yeri-kunŋiŋinʷ yeri-ninʷ	<i>your</i> boomerang

When a noun is modified by an adjective and a possessive adjective, the adjective always precedes the possessive adjective, as was the case with Marithiel. When an adjective, numeral and possessive adjective modify the same noun, the modifiers occur in the following order: Noun + Numeral + Adjective + Possessive Adjective. With noun possessors, the possessor always precedes the possessed. Other Marengar noun morphology closely parallels that described above for Marithiel, as might be expected.

6.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

In Marengar, as with the other members of this sub-group, there are three series of personal pronouns denoting the pronoun subject, as well as the direct and indirect object. They will be simply listed here and treated in greater detail during the section on verb morphology.

	Subject	Indirect Object	Direct Object
<i>I</i>	yin	-ŋin-	-iŋ-
<i>you</i>	ninʷ	-mpi-	-inʷ-
<i>he</i>	naŋ	-ni-	-ø-
<i>she</i>	ŋa	-ŋ-	-ø-
<i>we</i> inc.	kaŋkinim	-nki-...nim	-ŋki-...nim
<i>we</i> exc.	tʷer	-ŋkir-	-ŋkir-
<i>you</i> pl.	ner	-ntir-	-ntir-
<i>they</i>	niwir	-wir-	-mpir-
<i>we</i> dl.inc.	kaŋki	-ŋki-	-ŋki-
<i>we</i> dl.exc.	karti	-ŋinʷ-	-ŋkiri-
<i>you</i> dl.	narti	-ninʷ-	-ntiri-
<i>they</i> dl.	niwin	-winʷ-	-wirti-

It will be noted that unlike Marithiel, Marengar has separate forms for both plural and dual pronouns. In Marithiel the only separate form indicates first person dual inclusive. Perhaps even more noteworthy is

the fact that the Marengar dual pronouns correspond almost exactly to the Marithiel plural pronouns. Apart from this difference, the pronominal morphology of the two languages is almost identical. It is rather disturbing to find that Marengar is the only language within the Brinken sub-group to have separate dual pronominal forms. Perhaps further research into Marithiel and Maramanandji would reveal the existence of separate dual pronoun forms also; failing this, it would seem that Marengar stands alone in the Daly languages examined so far in having both a full plural and dual series.

6.5. THE VERB

6.5.1. Verb Classes

In Marengar, as in all members of the Daly Family there are several verb classes, based on the type of action being performed. The classes for Marengar closely parallel the Marithiel verb classes, with some minor exceptions, as follows:

- 1) Actions performed mainly with the hands.
- 2) Actions performed in a lying or standing position.
- 3) Throwing actions.
- 4) Actions mainly performed sitting down.
- 5) Actions involving cutting.
- 6) Verbs of seeing and perceiving.
- 7) Verbs of catching and spearing.
- 8) Verbs of acquiring.
- 9) Verbs of eating and drinking.
- 10) Verbs of talking and saying.
- 11) Verbs of causing movement.
- 12) Verbs of falling.
- 13) Verbs of motion from place to place.
- 14) Verbs of cooking.
- 15) Verbs of wanting/desiring.
- 16) Verbs of giving.

From the above listing, it will be seen that the Marengar verb classes are almost identical to those described for Marithiel above, with the major exception that standing and lying actions fall within the one verb class in Marengar, while in Marithiel and Maramanandji they fall into two distinct classes. In fact, all sub-groups of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, including Wadyiginy, Maranunggu, Ami, Marithiel, Maramanandji and Marengar have between fifteen and twenty verb classes, roughly, with almost identical categories and verb class morphemes.

This point will be elaborated upon in the comparative section of this study. It will be noted, on the other hand, that the members of the Mulluk Group have only five or six verb classes, which correspond in the main to the principal verb classes of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. In fact, from a typological point of view, the most significant points of comparison and contrast derive from a study of verb morphology throughout the Daly Family.

The five principal Marengar verb classes will be described here, to allow a comparison with Marithiel and Maramanandji. The same verb classes will be treated in each case. However, as stated above, Marithiel verb classes 2 and 4 merge into a single class in Marengar, which means that five rather than six classes will be described here.

The Marengar verb phrase has the following structure:

+ Actor ± Verb Stem ± Tense Auxiliary

Each verb phrase consists normally of three morphemes. The first, which has two forms, future and non-future, indicates the actor. With dual subjects, the actor element is di-morphemic. Further comment on this point will be made below. The second morpheme in the verb phrase is the verb stem, which is always bound. The third is the tense auxiliary. To this point, the structures in Marengar and Marithiel are identical. However, an examination of the verb paradigms will reveal several significant differences.

6.5.1.1. *Class 1: Actions performed mainly with the hands*

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲari-X-a	ɲur-X-ni
<i>you</i>	ɲintiri-X-a	ar-X-ni
<i>he</i>	ari-X-a	kur-X-ni
<i>we inc.</i>	ɲumpur-X-nim-a	ɲumpur-X-nim-ni
<i>we exc.</i>	ɲiri-X-a	ɲiri-X-ni
<i>you pl.</i>	narɪ-X-a	nar-X-ni
<i>they</i>	pari-X-a	pöri-X-ni
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	ɲumpur-X-a	ɲumpur-X-ni
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	ɲiri-ɲki-X-a	ɲiri-ɲki-X-ni
<i>you dl.</i>	narɪ-ɲki-X-a	narɪ-ɲki-X-ni
<i>they dl.</i>	pari-ɲki-X-a	piri-ɲki-X-ni

Examples:

yeri-kuntɪkinɪ ɲari-tɪumar-a
 [wood-boomerang I-make-past aux.]
 I made a boomerang.

yeri yipeṭi nur-Ø-pet-ni
[child small I-him-wash-fut.aux.]

I shall wash the baby.

nitṽṽṇani kur-inṽ-pet-ni
[tomorrow he-you-wash-fut.aux.]

He will wash you tomorrow.

yeri-kuntṽṽṇi kuri-ṇin-tṽumar-ni
[wood-boomerang he-me-make-fut.aux.]

He will make me a boomerang.

As with the other members of this sub-group, there are two basic tense distinctions in Marengar, future and nonfuture. Each verb class has two sets of auxiliary or affix units, which include the verb stem. The verb stem remains constant across tenses, but there are different actor morphemes for future and nonfuture in most cases, as the above paradigm will demonstrate. As far as the tense auxiliaries are concerned, the morpheme -a/-ya suffixed to the nonfuture verb phrase indicates completed action. If it is omitted, a present continuous tense is formed. The suffix -ni affixed to the future verb phrase denotes a future tense, while its omission indicates an imperative. This system is exactly the same as that outlined above for Marithiel.

It will be observed that the dual forms of the actor morphemes are directly derivable from the plural forms. The first person plural and dual inclusive are identical, apart from the morpheme -nim-, which occurs after the verb stem, here marked X, which indicates plural number. The remaining dual forms are identical to the plural forms with the addition of the dualising morpheme -ṇki-.¹ However, the Marengar dualising morpheme -ṇki- acts as a pluraliser in Marithiel and Maraman-andji. Further comment will be made on this point below, in the section dealing with summary matrices.

As is the case with most other Daly River languages, the bound form of the verb stem may be omitted with many Marengar verb classes without rendering the utterance incomplete. In effect, the actor morpheme indicates not only the actor and general tense, but also the general field of action within which the particular action indicated by the bound verb stem takes place. In fact, the actor morpheme is usually dimorphemic (trimorphemic in the case of the dual and first person

¹With most verb classes whose range is basically intransitive, however, -ṇki- is replaced by separate forms for plural and dual, following the pattern discussed above for Marithiel.

plural inclusive), although for purposes of clarity of exposition the division of the actor morpheme into its two component morphemes has been deferred until later. The example cited above:

yeri-kunt^yiki^y nari-t^yumar-a
I made a boomerang.

was translated literally as *I-make-past* auxiliary. It would have been more exactly translated *I/hands-make-past* auxiliary, the actor morpheme *nari-* being split into *na-ri-*. There are considerable inconsistencies or irregularities which result from such a division, although in the comparative section it will be seen that the same or similar *type of action* morphemes occur throughout the Daly Family.

The use of the affix units alone without any overt verb stem is confined to basically intransitive verb classes, and will be exemplified in the appropriate section, since it obviously cannot be applied to Class 1 verbs.

As will have been noted from the examples cited so far, any noun object reappears in pronominal form within the verb phrase. With singular noun objects, the pronominal form is *-Ø-* while with plural objects it is *-mplr-*.

Remarks made concerning Class 1 Marengar verbs apply equally well to the remaining verb classes of this language. In terms of verb morphology, as may be seen by comparison, Marengar and the other members of this Brinken sub-group are extremely similar.

6.5.1.2. *Class 2: Actions mainly performed standing or lying*

The verb stem members of this class are ones which denote actions normally thought of as being performed in a standing or lying position. This categorization is most unusual within the Daly Family, where standing and lying actions usually represent two major and different verb classes, as comparison will reveal. The paradigm for Class 2 is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-X-a	ŋa-X-ni
<i>you</i>	kini-X-a	ŋini-X-ni
<i>he</i>	ka-X-a	ka-X-ni
<i>we pl.inc.</i>	kumpu-X-nim-a	gumpu-X-nim-ni
<i>we pl.exc.</i>	kiri-X-a	ŋiri-X-ni
<i>you pl.</i>	kini-X-a	na-X-ni
<i>they</i>	ku-X-a	piri-X-ni
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	kumpu-X-a	gumpu-X-ni
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	kiri-ŋki-X-a	ŋiri-ŋki-X-ni

<i>you</i> dl.	kini-ŋki-X-a	na-ŋki-X-ni
<i>they</i> dl.	ku-ŋki-X-a	piri-ŋki-X-ni

Examples:

nitiŋani ŋa-wer-ni
[tomorrow I-sleep-fut.aux.]
I shall have a sleep tomorrow.

kumpu-wer-nim-a
[we all-sleep-plur.-past aux.]
We all slept.

nitiŋani ŋa-Ø-kurp-ni
[tomorrow I-hit-fut.aux.]
I shall hit him tomorrow.

6.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Motion

Verb stem members of this class normally denote actions which involve movement from place to place. The full paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋin-X-a	ŋun-X-ni
<i>you</i>	kinin-X-a	wari-X-ni
<i>he</i>	kani-X-a	kun-X-ni
<i>we</i> pl.inc.	kumpun-X-nim-a	ɣumpun-X-nim-ni
<i>we</i> pl.exc.	kin-mei-X-a	ŋin-mei-X-ni
<i>you</i> pl.	kinin-mei-X-a	nan-mei-X-ni
<i>they</i>	kun-mei-X-a	pin-mei-X-ni
<i>we</i> dl.inc.	kumpun-X-a	ɣumpun-X-ni
<i>we</i> dl.exc.	kinin-X-a	ŋininɣ-X-ni
<i>you</i> dl.	kinin-X-a	naninɣ-X-ni
<i>they</i> dl.	kunin-X-a	pininɣ-X-ni

Examples:

yeŋi ŋin-wat-a tawun.
[today I/motion-walk-past town]
I walked to town today.

nitiŋani wari-wat-ni tawun
[tomorrow you/motion-walk-fut. town]
You will walk to town tomorrow.

With this verb class, as with the corresponding class in Marithiel, the bound form verb stem is not obligatory. It may be omitted without rendering the sentence incomplete as in the following:

yeŋi ŋɪn-a tawun
 [today I/motion-past town]
 I went to town today.

nɪtʲɪŋani ŋun-nɪ tawun
 [tomorrow I/motion-fut. town]
 I shall go to town tomorrow.

It will be observed that the verb paradigms for this class in both Marengar and Marithiel are practically identical.

6.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Sitting

The verb stem members of this class normally denote actions which are usually thought of as being performed in a sitting position. The paradigm is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
I	kaŋi-X-a	ŋawu-X-nɪ
you	kanti-X-a	ŋanti-X-nɪ
he	kuʃi-X-a	kawu-X-nɪ
we pl.inc.	kampu-X-nim-a	ŋampu-X-nim-nɪ
we pl.exc.	kari-X-a	ŋari-X-nɪ
you pl.	kɪntili-X-a	nawu-X-nɪ
they	kull-X-a	parɪ-X-nɪ
we dl.inc.	kampu-X-a	ŋampu-X-nɪ
we dl.exc.	karinʲ-X-a	ŋarinʲ-X-nɪ
you dl.	kantinʲ-X-a	nawunʲ-X-nɪ
they dl.	kawunʲ-X-a	parinʲ-X-nɪ

Examples:

wuti kaŋi-kutak-a
 [water I/sit-drink-past aux.]
 I drank the water.

awu kaŋi-yimpuri-ya
 [meat I/sit-eat-past aux.]
 I ate the meat.

yeŋi kaŋi-tʲirŋa-ya
 [today I/sit-sneeze-past aux.]
 I sneezed today.

Note that when the verb stem ends in a vowel the form of the past auxiliary changes from -a to -ya. With verb class 4, as with class 3, the bound form of the verb stem may be omitted without rendering the sentence incomplete, as in:

tʏuwyɑ kɑŋi-ya
 [yesterday I/sit-past aux.]
 I sat down yesterday.

6.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs mainly involving cutting actions

The verb stem members of this class often denote cutting and similar destructive actions, although, as is general with this verb class throughout the Daly Family, the semantic link between all the stems included in this class is not always apparent. The paradigm for class 5 is as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
I	ŋuii-X-a	ŋui-X-ni
you	ŋintili-X-a	paɪ-X-ni
he	paɪi-X-a	kui-X-ni
we pl.inc.	ŋumpuii-X-nim-a	ŋumpui-X-nim-ni
we pl.exc.	ŋili-X-a	ŋili-X-ni
you pl.	nuli-X-a	nui-X-ni
they	puli-X-a	pili-X-ni
we dl.inc.	ŋumpuli-X-a	ŋumpui-X-ni
we dl.exc.	ŋili-ŋki-X-a	ŋili-ŋki-X-ni
you dl.	nuli-ŋki-X-a	nuli-ŋki-X-ni
they dl.	puli-ŋki-X-a	pili-ŋki-X-ni

Examples:

awu ŋuli-kat-a
 [meat I/cut-cut-past aux.]
 I cut up the meat.

tʏenti ŋuli-purpurk-a
 [spear I/cut-break-past aux.]
 I broke the spear (by cutting).

watʏan paɪi-ŋ-titɪp-a
 [dog he/cut-me-bite-past aux.]
 The dog bit me.

6.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affixes

As was stated above, the Marengar verb phrase consists normally of three morphemes. The first indicates the number and person of the actor, plus the general field of action within which the particular action denoted by the bound form verb stem is performed. The second is the bound verb stem, while the third is the past or future tense auxiliary.

Within Marengar it appears necessary to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs, for several reasons. First, with transitive verbs or transitive verb classes the actor 'morpheme' may be broken down into two specific morphemes, the first of which indicates the actor and the second of which indicates the general action type. If we examine Class 1 verbs, actions mainly performed with the hands, the breakdown of the first 'morpheme' would be as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋa-ri-	ŋu-r-
<i>you</i>	ŋintl-ri-	a-r-
<i>he</i>	a-ri-	ku-r-
<i>we</i>	ŋumpu-ri-	ŋumpu-r-
<i>we</i>	ŋi-ri-	ŋl-ri-
<i>you</i>	na-ri-	na-r-
<i>they</i>	pa-ri-	pö-ri-

The breakup for dual actors would be the same as for the plural, with the addition of the dualizer -ŋki-, as in ŋl-ri-ŋkl-, *you* dual Class 1. The morpheme indicating the general type of action here would then be /-ri-/. The same types of division can be made with other verb classes whose basic role is transitive. With verb classes whose basic role is intransitive, any attempt to divide the actor segment into two morphemes is rather fruitless, since it is highly irregular. However, it is evident that even there the actor 'morpheme' is potentially divisible into actor and type of action. To this point, Marengar verb morphology parallels the usage in Marithiel and Maramanandji.

Perhaps more significant is the fact that in Marengar, the actor morphemes for basically transitive verb classes are identical, with one minor exception, in both the future and non-future tenses. However, with verb classes which are basically intransitive, the actor morphemes change regularly across tenses as follows:

1. With plural and dual actors the initial velar stop becomes a velar nasal; for example:
we pl.inc. kumpu- (NF) becomes ŋumpu- (F)
we pl.exc. kirl- (NF) becomes ŋirl- (F)
2. The future form of the second person plural and dual is always na-.
3. Third person plural and dual is always ku- in the non-future and pl- in the future.
4. With singular actors, the second person follows the k- to ŋ- rule noted in 1. The first person singular is always ŋ + vowel, although the vowel is unpredictable. The third person singular

future has the same form as the first person, the velar nasal becoming a velar stop. The third person singular nonfuture is unpredictable. The actor morphemes in Marengar, then, could be summarised in the following table:

	Nonfuture		Future	
	Trans.	Intrans. ¹	Trans.	Intrans.
<i>I</i>	ŋa-	ŋi-	ŋU-	ŋa-
<i>you</i>	ŋinti-	kini-	Irreg.	ŋini-
<i>he</i>	Irreg.	ka-	kU-	ka-
<i>we pl.inc.</i>	ŋumpu-	kumpu-	ŋumpu-	ŋumpu-
<i>we pl.exc.</i>	ŋi-	kiri-	ŋi-	ŋiri-
<i>you pl.</i>	na-	kini-	na-	na-
<i>they</i>	pa-	ku-	pi-	pi-
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	ŋumpu-	kumpu-	ŋumpu-	ŋumpu-
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	ŋi-ŋki-	kiri-(ŋki-)	ŋi-ŋki-	ŋiri-(ŋki-)
<i>you dl.</i>	na-ŋki-	kini-(ŋki-)	na-ŋki-	na-(ŋki-)
<i>they dl.</i>	pa-ŋki-	ku-(ŋki-)	pi-ŋki-	pi-(ŋki-)

Note that the only distinction between first person dual and plural inclusive is the pluralising morpheme -nim-, as illustrated in the paradigms above. The vowels listed in the above table are not constant throughout all verb classes. However, those listed will suffice to demonstrate the *modus operandi* of the actor and type of action segment of the Marengar verb phrase.

The bound form of the verb stem always occurs as the second major element in the verb phrase, and as examples have been given above they will not be repeated in this section. One point which must be made, however, is that the bound form of the verb stem may be omitted from the verb phrase without rendering the phrase incomplete only with verb classes whose basic range is intransitive, such as the classes denoting verbs of sitting, lying/standing, and movement from place to place. In all other cases, the bound form of the verb stem is obligatory. In none of the material collected by the present writer has the verb stem been found in free form, as it is in the Wogaity sub-group of the Brinken Group.

The role of the tense auxiliaries has been described above, during the treatment of Class 1 verbs.

¹As suggested above, the forms used with verb classes which are basically intransitive are not regular. Those cited here are presented as examples only.

6.5.3. Direct Object

6.5.3.1. Noun Objects

In Marengar, as with the other members of the Daly Family, the noun object normally occurs immediately before the verb phrase. The noun object is often repeated in pronominal form within the verb phrase especially with animates. The pronoun object forms for third person singular and plural are -Ø- and -mpir- respectively.

Examples:

tʷuwa watʷan ɲinʷ-Ø-kurp-a
[yesterday dog I/destroy-him-hurt-past aux.]
I hit the dog yesterday.

tʷuwa wuti kani-Ø-kutak-a
[yesterday water I/sit-him-drink-past aux.]
I drank the water yesterday.

The verb class to which -kurp-, to hit, belongs is a member of a class which includes actions of destroying, not described formally in the sample verb paradigms listed above.

6.5.3.2. Pronoun Objects

The Marengar direct object pronoun forms are as follows:

me	-ŋ-, -ŋl-
you	-nʷ-
him/her	-Ø-
us inc.	-ŋkl-...nim-
us exc.	-ŋklir-
you pl.	-ntir-
them	-mpir-
us dl.inc.	-ŋkl-
us dl.exc.	-ŋkliri-
you dl.	-ntiri-
them dl.	-wirti-

The pronoun object immediately follows the Actor/Type of Action morpheme, summed up in the formula:

+ Act/action type + PnO + Verb Stem ± Aux.

Examples:

pall-ŋ-muti-ya	he looked at me
pall-nʷ-muti-ya	he looked at you
pall-Ø-muti-ya	he looked at him

paii-ŋki-muti-min-a	<i>he looked at us</i> (pl.inc.)
paii-nkir-muti-ya	<i>he looked at us</i> (pl.exc.)
paii-ntir-muti-ya	<i>he looked at you</i> (pl.)
paii-mpir-muti-ya	<i>he looked at them</i>
paii-ŋki-muti-ya	<i>he looked at us</i> (dl.inc.)
paii-ŋkiri-muti-ya	<i>he looked at us</i> (dl.exc.)
paii-ntiri-muti-ya	<i>he looked at you</i> (dl.)
paii-wirti-muti-ya	<i>he looked at them</i> (dl.)

Other examples:

anʔi-ŋki-kurp-nim-a	<i>he hit us</i> (pl.inc.)
ŋuli-nʔ-muti-ya	<i>I saw you</i>
ŋintili-ŋ-muti-ya	<i>you saw me</i>

It is to be noted that the pronoun object forms for the first person singular and plural have more than one form, the changes being morpho-phonemically conditioned.

6.5.4. Indirect Object

In Marengar, as with the other members of this sub-group, but unlike most other members of the Daly Family, there is not only a series of direct object pronouns, but also a series which indicates the indirect object. These pronominal forms are as follows:

<i>to me</i>	-ŋin-
<i>to you</i>	-mpi-
<i>to him</i>	-ni-
<i>to her</i>	-ŋ-
<i>to us inc.</i>	-ŋki-...nim-
<i>to us exc.</i>	-ŋkiri-
<i>to you pl.</i>	-ntir-
<i>to them</i>	-wir-
<i>to us dl.inc.</i>	-ŋki-
<i>to us dl.exc.</i>	-ŋinʔ-
<i>to you dl.</i>	-ninʔ-
<i>to them dl.</i>	-winʔ-

Here again it will be observed that the Marengar dual forms are very similar to the plural forms in Marithiel. The indirect object pronoun occupies the same place in the verb phrase as the direct object.

Examples:

wuti ta-ŋin-pap-a	<i>he gave me some water</i>
wuti ta-mpi-pap-a	<i>he gave you some water</i>
wuti ta-ni-pap-a	<i>he gave him some water</i>

wuti ta-ŋ-pap-a	he gave her some water
wuti ta-ŋki-pap-nim-a	he gave us (inc.) some water
wuti ta-ŋkir-pap-a	he gave us (exc.) some water
wuti ta-ntir-pap-a	he gave you (pl.) some water
wuti ta-wir-pap-a	he gave them some water
wuti ta-ŋki-pap-a	he gave us (dl.inc.) some water
wuti ta-ŋinʷ-pap-a	he gave us (dl.exc.) some water
wuti ta-ninʷ-pap-a	he gave you (dl.) some water
wuti ta-winʷ-pap-a	he gave them (dl.) some water

6.5.5. Negation

Negation in Marengar is indicated by the negative marker *ampu* which either occurs sentence initially or immediately before the verb phrase.

Examples:

ampu tʷentʷi ŋuli-kat-a
 [not wood I/cut-cut-past aux.]
I did not cut the wood.

ampu ta-ŋin-pap-a
 [not he-me-give-past aux.]
He did not give it to me.

6.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes in Marengar include numerals, adverbs of time and manner, directionals and interrogatives. Numerals have already been treated above, because of their potential for concord, in the section dealing with noun morphology. The remaining word classes are so similar to those described above for Marithiel that any description here would be unnecessarily repetitious.

6.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Marengar word order is the same as for other members of the Brinken sub-group as follows:

$\pm T \pm L \pm S \pm DO \pm IO + VPhr (+ Act/AType \pm DO \pm VS \pm Aux) \pm Inst$

The formula may be interpreted as follows: Any Marengar sentence may consist of an optional Time slot, followed by any Location phrase. Should the sentence be interrogative, the Interrogative occupies the sentence initial position, the Time phrase being transferred to a position after the Verb Phrase. The Location phrase is followed by any noun Subject, which is in turn followed by the Indirect Object, where

this is a noun. The kernel of the sentence is the Verb Phrase, which as has been shown above consists of an actor morpheme, which usually incorporates a morpheme to indicate general type of action, a pronoun object, either direct or indirect, the verb stem itself, and finally the optional tense auxiliary. Should an agent or instrument be included, it normally follows the verb phrase, as is the case throughout the Daly Family.

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¹Items of linguistic interest are marked *.

7. MARANUNGGU

7.1. GENERAL

Maranunggu has a variety of alternative spellings as follows:
Maranungku, Maranunggu, Maranunga, Maranuka, Marranungga, Maranunggo.

It is spoken today by approximately fifteen to twenty aborigines as a first language, although it is still widely understood throughout the Daly River area. Stanner (1933:382) places the traditional territory of the Maranunggu somewhere between Hermit Hill and the south bank of the Daly River. Capell (1963:Area N,15) agrees with Stanner. The traditional tribal territory has however long been abandoned, the Maranunggu speakers being scattered between the Daly River and Darwin.

Previously published information on Maranunggu is non-existent up until the time of the Capell (1963) Survey, in which he states that there are no records of this language. Stanner did, however, make an extensive anthropological survey of the area. Since 1963, the only material written on Maranunggu was by the present writer (Tryon 1968, 1970).

In Capell's Survey, Maranunggu was given the number N.56, while in the Oates revision it is assigned the identification number 8Nr.

Within the Daly Family Maranunggu is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, and within this is a member of the Maranunggu Subgroup. It has two other dialects, namely Manda and Ami, an account of which is given separately. The percentage of shared cognates with these based on a 200 word list is as follows:

	Maranunggu	Ami	Manda
Maranunggu	-	72%	72%
Ami	72%	-	86%
Manda	72%	86%	-

7.2. PHONEMES

An inventory of the phonemes of Maranunggu is as follows:

a) Consonants

p	t	tʷ	k
m	n	nʷ	ŋ
w	l	y	
	r	R	

R represents a trilled r as opposed to the alveolar continuant r.

b) Vowels

i	u
ö	
e	a

7.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

7.3.1. Noun Phrases

7.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

Unmodified nouns are divided into four classes in the same way as the other members of the Daly Family. The classes are indicated by prefixes as follows:

- 1) Ø- parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena.
- 2) awa- with animals hunted for flesh meat.
- 3) miya- with plants and vegetable food.
- 4) yili- with trees and wooden objects, weapons, tools.

It would perhaps be preferable not to consider the above class markers as prefixes as they occur elsewhere in the language as free forms, indicating clearly the origin of the class markers of the Daly Family.

Examples:

karawala	stone
memme	axe
awa mala	snake
awa manaRk	red kangaroo
miya warkuya	long yam
miya periya	water lily
yili tawar	yam stick
yili winʷlŋkinʷ	boomerang

Two further markers are used with nouns in Maranunggu, namely wati- with nouns indicating male sex age difference terms, and wuŋku- with those that denote female sex age difference terms.

Examples:

wuŋkutʔipɛl	<i>girl at puberty</i>
wuŋkuŋulan	<i>unmarried girl</i>
watiŋulpak	<i>young man</i>

The functional load of these two markers is so slight that they have not been included as separate noun class markers.

With adjectives the modifier always follows the noun head. There is no concord between adjectives and nouns that they modify.

Examples:

mi natla	<i>good dog</i>
mi werik	<i>bad dog</i>
kantu puwal	<i>big man</i>
tʔinta muntak	<i>old spear</i>

If plurality is stressed, the adjective undergoes complete reduplication. In most cases, however, adjectives are invariable for number.

Examples:

mi werikwerik	<i>bad dogs</i>
mi puwalpuwal	<i>big dogs</i>

7.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

There are no noun classes for possession in Maranunggu.

1) Pronoun Possessors.

When a noun is pronominally possessed the possessive adjective follows the noun in all cases. The Maranunggu possessive adjectives, largely identical to the object pronouns (see below, 7.4.) are as follows:

ŋanʔ or ŋeni	<i>my</i>
nina or nimpe	<i>your sg.</i>
nankunʔ or nawanʔ	<i>his</i>
ŋankunʔ or ŋawanʔ	<i>her</i>
kinʔa	<i>our pl.inc.</i>
ŋatʔa	<i>our pl.exc.</i>
ninʔa	<i>your pl.</i>
winʔa	<i>their</i>
ŋaŋku	<i>our dual inc.</i>
ŋatamata	<i>our dual exc.</i>
ninʔamata	<i>your dual</i>
winʔamata	<i>their dual</i>

With singular possessors there are two forms of the possessive adjective. With most nouns ŋanʔ, nina, nankunʔ and ŋankunʔ are used, as in the following examples:

piya ɲanʸ	<i>my head</i>
mi ɲanʸ	<i>my dog</i>
kantu ɲanʸ	<i>my husband</i>

However, when the possessed item is a kinship term, instrument or weapon ɲeni, nimpe, nawanʸ and ɲawanʸ are preferred.

Examples:

tʸinta ɲeni	<i>my spear</i>
niia nimpe	<i>your mother</i>
manpuk nawanʸ	<i>his woomera</i>

Certain kinship terms undergo formal changes depending on whether the possessor is first, second or third person. The following table illustrates the changes:

	1st	2nd	3rd
<i>father</i>	nɪkani	niia	nirkana
<i>mother</i>	akani	ekele	erkiɲa
<i>brother</i>	mereni	mele	merena
<i>uncle</i>	kalanɪ	kele	kelina

Kinship nouns take the suffixes -ni for the first person, -ia, -le, -li for second person, and -na for third person male, -ɲa for third person female. Further details are given in the present writer's detailed study of Maranunggu (Tryon 1970).

2) Common Noun Possessors.

a) When the possessor and possessed are in intimate relationship, or when part of a whole is expressed, the possessor precedes the possessed without any possessive affix.

Examples:

mi yɪɪɪ	<i>the dog's tail</i>
ɲurtʸɪ muru	<i>the emu's egg</i>
memme tʸerenʸ	<i>the handle of the axe</i>
mi aRa	<i>the leg of the dog</i>

b) When the possessor and possessed are in acquired relationship, that is, when the relationship between possessor and possessed is not intimate, the construction is:

Possessed + Possessor + nawanʸ or ɲawanʸ

Examples:

awa akani ɲawanʸ	<i>my mother's meat</i>
tʸinta mereni nawanʸ	<i>my brother's spear</i>
memme niia nimpe nawanʸ	<i>your father's axe</i>

7.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

The following are some commonly used Maranunggu postpositions.

- 1) *nunu* *by* or *with*, instrumental marker

Example:

mi nimpe ka-ŋa-nʏa kur ayi yili nuu
 [dog your NF-I-destroy hit past aux. stick with]
I hit your dog with a stick.

- 2) *nala* and *ŋala* *for*, expresses purpose

The *ŋala* form is used when there is a feminine referent.

Examples:

karawala nala ka-ŋa-tan manana yi
 [stone it-for NF-I-see look past aux.]
I looked for the money.

... ŋatta nala ŋa-wa-nʏa pat atu
 [house it-for Fut-I-guild make Fut.aux.]
... So that I can build a house.

- 3) *yanana* *from*, *away from*, *because*, *because of*

Examples:

ka-ŋa-ni tul karawala yanana
 [NF-I-go descend stone from]
I got down from the stone.

metter ke-me wuta turwu yanana
 [tired NF-say water bitter from]
He is tired because of the beer.

- 4) *yena* *to*, *on*, *in*, *into*, *at*

Examples:

yuwa mere ka-ŋa-ni wöwe yena
 [there away NF-I-go camp to]
I am going to the camp.

awa mala ŋelkinʏ yena ka-ya
 [meat snake hole in NF-lie]
The snake is in the hole.

- 5) *penpe...yena* *under*, *underneath*

Example:

mi penpe tipul yena ka-ya
 [dog under table at NF-lie]
The dog is under the table.

6) wanunu yena on top of

Example:

awa pitypity ka-nan wanunu tawar yena
 [meat bird NF-sit on top tree at]

The bird is on top of the tree.

7) witva with, accompaniment

Example:

yeri ke-tl tu mi kiruwality witva
 [tomorrow fut-sit aux. dogs small with]

Tomorrow he will stay with the little dogs.

7.4. Pronouns Subject and Object

The Maranunggu pronouns subject and object are listed below. The subject pronouns are always free forms, while the object forms are invariably bound. They are as follows:

	Subject	Object
<i>I</i>	nanv	-nanv
<i>you</i>	nina	-nimpe
<i>he</i>	nankunv	-na
<i>she</i>	nankunv	-na
<i>we inc.</i>	kitva	-kinva
<i>we exc.</i>	natva	-gerinva
<i>you pl.</i>	nitva	-ninva
<i>they</i>	witva	-winva
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	nanku	-nanku
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	natamata	-gerinyamata
<i>you dl.</i>	nitamata	-ninvyamata
<i>they dl.</i>	witamata	-winvyamata

The only truly separate dual form is *nanku*, *we* two inclusive. The other dual forms are almost identical to the plural forms, but with the dualising suffix *-mata* added. This is further borne out with the verbs, where the only separate dual form is for the first person dual inclusive, see below, 7.5.

7.5. THE VERB

7.5.1. Verb Classes

In Maranunggu there are some eighteen verb classes as follows:¹

¹There are, of course, several subclasses, not discussed here.

- 1) Verbs of motion.
- 2) Verbs of projection.
- 3) Verbs in which the action is performed standing.
- 4) Verbs in which the action is performed lying down.
- 5) Verbs in which the action is performed sitting.
- 6) Verbs of saying.
- 7) Verbs of holding.
- 8) Verbs in which the action is performed with the hands.
- 9) Verbs of building or destroying.
- 10) Verbs of cutting.
- 11) Verbs of eating, drinking and dying.
- 12) Verbs of seeing.
- 13) Verbs of causing movement.
- 14) Unaspectual verbs.
- 15) Verbs of vertical movement.
- 16) Verbs of arranging.
- 17) Verbs of sensing.
- 18) Verbs of burning.

Only the main six classes, of which the vast majority of verb stems are members, will be described here. For a complete description, see Tryon (1970c).

As with the other members of the Daly Family, the verb has the formula: \pm Verb Stem + Affix Unit. This is to say that all free form verb stems must be accompanied by an affix unit appropriate to the verb class. The affix unit is trimorphemic, the morphemes indicating tense, actor and type of action. The affix unit itself may constitute a complete utterance, a feature which will be further commented on below. The affix units for the six principal verb classes are as follows:

7.5.1.1. Class 1: Verbs of Motion

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ka-ŋa-ni	ŋa-wa-ni
<i>you</i>	ka-na-ni	waɾi
<i>he</i>	ka-na	ka-wa-ni
<i>we inc.</i>	ka-Rka-ni	ŋa-Rka-ni
<i>we exc.</i>	waɾin	ŋa-ra-ni
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-ni	waɾira
<i>they</i>	ku-ni-nɣa	pu-ra-ni
<i>we two</i>	ka-ma-ni	ŋa-ma-ni

The affix unit may either precede or follow the verb stem and is phonologically separate from it. It describes the general field of action,

while the verb stem itself describes the particular action performed within the specified field.

Examples:

tIR wuttar wat ka-ŋa-ni yi
[edge beach walk NF-I-go CA]

I walked to the beach.

tawar ŋa-wa-ni kalkal atu
[tree fut-I-go climb fut.aux.]

I shall climb the tree.

There are two basic tenses in Maranunggu, the nonfuture and the future. The nonfuture affix unit indicates a present continuous or immediate past tense. A general past tense indicating a completed action is indicated by the completed action marker yi or ayi following the verb stem and affix unit. The future affix unit indicates an immediate future tense, while the general future is indicated by the future auxiliary tu or atu. The use of the forms with and without the vowel is morphonemically conditioned, as the examples will show.

Most of the affix units constitute meaningful utterances in their own right,¹ as is the case throughout the Daly Family.

Examples:

tawun ka-ŋa-ni yi
[town NF-I-go CA]

I went to town.

tawun ŋa-wa-ni tu
[town F-I-go Fut.aux.]

I shall go to town.

It will have been observed that for dual pronoun subjects the only separate pronoun form is ŋaŋku, *we two* inclusive. Elsewhere the subject forms follow the plural pronouns to which the dual marker mata is added. This is also reflected in the affix unit, where mata is inserted before the tense auxiliary. In all other respects the paradigm is the same as for the plural.

Examples:

tawar ka-ra-ni kalkal ayi
[tree NF-you-go climb CA]

You plural climbed the tree.

¹This feature is normally restricted, however, to verb classes whose sense is basically intransitive, i.e. verbs of sitting, lying etc.

But:

tawar ka-ra-ni kalkal mata yI
[tree NF-you-go climb dual CA]

You two climbed the tree.

When the subject of the sentence is a noun, it reappears in the third person singular or plural form of the affix unit.

Example:

werempen ka-na wat ayi wuta yena
[alligator he-go walk CA water in]

The alligator went along in the water.

Remarks concerning the above verb class apply also to all other Maranunggu verb classes.

7.5.1.2. Class 2: Verbs of Standing

This class is composed of verb stems denoting actions mainly performed in a standing position. The affix units which are required here are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ka-ŋa-ma	ŋa-ta-ma
<i>you</i>	ka-na-ma	ta-ŋa-ma
<i>he</i>	ka-ma	ka-ta-ma
<i>we inc.</i>	ka-Rka-ma	ŋa-Rka-ma
<i>we exc.</i>	tanman	ŋa-ra-ma
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-ma	ta-ŋa-ra-ma
<i>they</i>	ku-nʔa-ma	pu-ra-ma
<i>we two</i>	ka-ma-ma	ŋa-ma-ma

Examples of usage:

tʔInta na-ia ka-ŋa-ma kay ayI
[spear it-for NF-I-stand call CA]

I called out for a spear.

tʔaltʔara ka-ŋa-ma wul ayI
[yesterday NF-I-stand return CA]

I came back yesterday.

7.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Lying

Verb stems which belong to this verb class normally denote actions thought of as performed lying down. The corresponding affix units are:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ka-ŋl-ya	ŋa-yu
<i>you</i>	ka-nl-ya	yu-ŋu
<i>he</i>	ka-ya	ka-yu
<i>we inc.</i>	kl-Rkl-ya	ŋl-Rkl-ya
<i>we exc.</i>	yun	ŋl-rl-ya
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ri-ya	yu-ŋu-ra
<i>they</i>	ku-yi-n ^{ya}	pl-rl-ya
<i>we two</i>	ka-mi-ya	ŋa-mi-ya

Examples:

t^{ya}lt^{ya}ra ŋurkur ka-ŋl-ya yi
 [yesterday sleep NF-I-lie CA]
I slept yesterday.

tlnklrk ka-ŋl-ya yi
 [sick NF-I-lie CA]
I was sick.

temi ŋantawan^y ka-ŋl-ya yi
 [side one NF-I-lie CA]
I lay on one side.

7.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Sitting

Verb stems belonging to this class indicate actions which are performed sitting down or thought of as performed in a sitting position. The affix units for Class 4 are:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ka-ŋl-nan	ŋe-tl
<i>you</i>	ka-nl-nan	nl-ŋa
<i>he</i>	ka-nan	ke-tl
<i>we inc.</i>	kl-Rkl-nan	ŋl-Rkl-nan
<i>we exc.</i>	ni-n	ŋe-rl-nan
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-rl-nan	nl-ŋa-ra
<i>they</i>	ku-nl-nan	pl-rl-nan
<i>we two</i>	ka-mi-nan	ŋa-mi-nan

Examples:

peku ka-nan wul^{ya} yi
 [woman NF-sit dance CA]
The woman danced.

leri ka-ŋi-nan ayi
 [happy NF-I-sit CA]
 I was happy.

wöwe yena ka-ŋi-nan ayi
 [camp at NF-I-sit CA]
 I stayed at home.

7.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs of Actions Performed with the Hands

The affix units of this verb class are used with a great number of verb stems denoting any action performed with the hands. With this verb class the affix units must always be accompanied by a verb stem, as the affix units themselves do not represent minimal meaningful utterances. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
I	ka-ŋa-ra	ŋa-wa-ra
you	ka-na-ra	ara
he	ka-ra	ka-wa-ra
we inc.	ka-Rka-ra	ŋa-Rka-ra
we exc.	ara-n	ŋa-ra-ra
you pl.	ka-ra-ra	ara-ra
they	ku-ri-nYa	pu-ra-ra
we two	ka-ma-ra	ŋa-ma-ra

Examples:

tvinta ka-ŋa-ra pal ayi
 [spear NF-I-hand break CA]
 I broke the spear.

mi natla ka-ŋa-ra petv
 [dog good NF-I-hand have]
 I have a good dog.

7.5.1.6. Class 6: Verbs of Cutting

The verb stems belonging to this class fit into the general field of cutting and cleaning, although nothing approaching a specific field of meaning has been found which covers all the members of the class. As with class 5, above, the affix units must always be accompanied by a verb stem as they have no independent status, in contrast to the affix units of the first four verb classes described above. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ka-ŋa-la	ŋa-pa-la
<i>you</i>	ka-na-la	pula
<i>he</i>	ka-la	ka-pa-la
<i>we inc.</i>	ka-Rka-la	ŋa-Rka-la
<i>we exc.</i>	pula-n	ŋa-ra-la
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-la	pu-la-ra
<i>they</i>	ku-li-nYa	pu-ra-la
<i>we two</i>	ka-ma-la	ŋa-ma-la

Examples:

ŋatta ka-ŋa-la putur ayi
 [house NF-I-cut clean CA]
I cleaned the house.

tYaltYara yiminY ka-ŋa-la kat ayi
 [yesterday wood NF-I-cut cut CA]
I chopped the wood yesterday.

7.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

As was stated above, the affix units are generally composed of three morphemes which occur in the following order:

tense - actor - type of action.

7.5.2.1. Tense Morphemes

The morphemes which indicate the basic tense, either future or non-future occur first in the affix unit. These are:

	Nonfuture	Future
3 sing.	ka-	ka-
3 plur.	ku-	pu-
Elsewhere	ka-	ŋa-

7.5.2.2. Actor Morphemes

The actor morphemes, with the exception of the third person plural nonfuture, occupy the second place in the affix unit. The third person plural nonfuture morpheme, however, occupies the final position in the affix unit. The third person singular nonfuture is always zero, while the first person plural exclusive of the nonfuture and the second persons singular and plural of the future form a subset which is phonologically quite separate from the remaining morphemes. These will be listed in a separate table. The actor morphemes in general terms are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	-ŋa-	-wa-
<i>you</i>	-na-	see below
<i>he</i>	-Ø-	-wa-
<i>we inc.</i>	-Rka-	-Rka-
<i>we exc.</i>	see below	-ra-
<i>you pl.</i>	-ra-	see below
<i>they</i>	-nʏa-	-ra-
<i>we two</i>	-ma-	-ma-

It will be seen that three actor morphemes have the same form, -ra-. No confusion arises, however, as each is preceded by a different tense morpheme in the affix unit, see above. The forms for the first person inclusive nonfuture and the second persons singular and plural of the future form a separate subset as follows:

	lexc.NF.	2S.F.	2pl.F.
Class 1	warin	warl	warlra
Class 2	tanman	taŋama	taŋarama
Class 3	yun	yunʏu	yunʏura
Class 4	nin	niŋa	niŋara
Class 5	aran	ara	arara
Class 6	pulan	pula	pulara

7.5.2.3. Type of Action Morphemes

The morphemes which indicate the general type of action delimiting the field of the particular action normally occur affix unit finally, with the exception of the third person plural discussed above. These morphemes are regular throughout all persons. They are as follows:

Class 1	-ni
Class 2	-ma
Class 3	-ya
Class 4	-nan
Class 5	-ra
Class 6	-la

It is to be noted that some verb stems may be members of more than one verb class, but that as they change they also change meaning.

Example:

kur + -man AU = *to spear, catch*
 kur + -nʏa AU = *to hit (with a stick)*
 kur + -la AU = *to shoot*

Further discussion of this feature is to be found in the present writer's *Introduction to Maranunggu Grammar*.

7.5.3. Impersonal Verbs

With verbs which in English express a state of being such as *to be hot, cold, sick etc.* Maranunggu employs an impersonal construction in which the heat, cold etc. become the actors. This feature is to be found throughout the Daly Family.

Examples:

mutunkur ka-la-ŋan^y paw
[cold NF-cut-me hurt]
I am cold now.

wuta na-la ke-ti-ŋan^y paw
[water it-for fut.-cut-me hurt]
I am thirsty.

t^yalt^yara murintirin ku-man-ŋan^y ayl
[yesterday sweat NF-hold-me CA]
I sweated yesterday.

7.5.4. Direct Object

7.5.4.1. Noun Objects

In Maranunggu the direct object normally follows any noun subject and occurs immediately before the verb stem and affix unit.

Examples:

t^yalt^yara mutika ka-ŋa-ra purit^y ayl
[yesterday motorcar NF-I-hand fix CA]
I repaired the car yesterday.

mi awa ka-ra tim ayi
[dog meat NF-hand bury CA]
The dog buried the meat.

When the direct object is a part of the body it occurs twice in the sentence, both before and after the affix unit and verb stem, as in the following example:

t^yalt^yara tiR ka-ŋa-ra-ŋan^y pit tiR ayl
[yesterday tooth NF-I-hand-me wash tooth CA]
I brushed my teeth yesterday.

7.5.4.2. Pronoun Objects

The pronoun objects listed above, 7.4., always occur as suffixes to the affix unit.

Examples:

tʔaltʔara ka-tan-winʔa yi
 [yesterday NF-see-them CA]
He saw them yesterday.

yeri ɲa-wa-nʔa-nimpe kur atu
 [tomorrow F-I-destroy-you hit fut.aux.]
I shall hit you tomorrow.

tʔaltʔara ka-tan-ɲerɲa mata yi
 [yesterday NF-see-us exc. dual CA]
He saw us two exclusive yesterday.

If the object of the verb is a human being, two objects are normally expressed, one substantival and the other pronominal.

Examples:

yeri pölöpölö ɲa-Rka-tan-winʔa tu
 [tomorrow old people F-we pl-see-them Fut.aux.]
We shall see the old people tomorrow.

pölö ɲa-Rka-tan-na tu
 [old man F-we pl.-see-him Fut.aux.]
We shall see the old man.

7.5.5. Negation

Negation is indicated in Maranunggu in the following ways:

a) With verb stems which normally follow the affix unit, negation is indicated in two ways:

1) way piya may precede the affix unit and verb stem in the sentence initial position.

Examples:

way piya tʔinta ka-ɲi-ya-na patʔ ayɪ
 [not head spear NF-I-lie-him throw CA]
I did not throw the spear at him.

way piya wöwe yena ka-ɲi-nan ayɪ
 [not head camp at NF-I-sit CA]
I did not stay at home.

2) piya may precede the affix unit and verb stem and way follow, as in the following example:

piya ka-ɲa-ni way
 [head NF-I-go not]
I am not going.

b) With the small number of verb stems which normally precede the affix unit (see Tryon 1970c for further detail) way piya is most often placed between the verb stem and the affix unit.

Example:

leri way piya ka-ŋa-ni
[happy not head NF-I-go]
I am not happy.

7.5.6. Nonverbal Sentences

As with other members of the Daly Family, sentences in which there is no overt verb are common in Maranunggu. They may take the following forms:

1) Noun + Adjective

Example:

mi kenki natla
[dog this good]
This dog is good.

2) Noun + Noun

Example:

tawar yuwa tan
[tree that bloodwood]
That tree is a bloodwood.

3) Noun + Possessive Adjective

Example:

mi natla ŋanʸ
[dog good my]
I have a good dog.

4) Noun + Negative

Example:

wuta way
[water not]
There is no water.

5) Demonstrative + Noun

Example:

keni tvinta
[this spear]
This is a spear.

7.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other Maranunggu word classes include numerals, adverbs of time and manner, interrogatives and directionals.

7.6.1. Numerals

The numerals in Maranunggu follow the normal pattern revealed above

with other languages belonging to this Family. They are as follows:

1. ɲantawanʸ
2. miyitinʸ
3. nenʸmete
4. miyitinʸmiyitinʸ
5. peɲenti

When numerals, possessive adjectives, demonstratives and adjectives modify the same noun head, they occur in the order:

+ Noun ± Adjective ± Demonstrative ± Numeral ± Poss.Adj.

Examples:

mi natia miyitinʸ	<i>two good dogs</i>
mi natia miyitinʸ ɲanʸ	<i>my two good dogs</i>
ɲatta yuwa nenʸmete	<i>those three houses</i>

7.6.2. Interrogatives

The Maranunggu interrogatives are as follows:

apa	<i>who?</i>
apa nawanʸ	<i>whose?</i>
apa yena	<i>to whom?</i>
apa witʸa	<i>with whom?</i>
apa yaɲana	<i>from whom?</i>
antama mere	<i>where to?</i>
antama yaɲana	<i>where from?</i>
ka	<i>where at?</i>
möntö	<i>when?</i>
emi nunu	<i>how?</i>
emi	<i>why?</i>
entʸi	<i>what?</i>
anʸintara	<i>how many?</i>

Interrogatives normally occupy the sentence initial position.

Examples:

apa kantu yuwa ?
[who man there]
Who is that man?

antama mere ku-ni-nʸa ?
[where away -go-they]
Where are they going?

emi yi ka-na-ra pal tʷinta nanʷ
 [why CA NF-you-hand break spear my]
Why did you break my spear?

anʷintara awa manaRk ka-na-tan ayi
 [how many meat kangaroo NF-you-see CA]
How many kangaroos did you see?

7.6.3. Adverbs

The most common adverbs express time, manner and direction. As was shown above, location is expressed by an adverbial phrase involving postpositions.

a) Adverbs of Time

The most common time adverbs are as follows:

kutʷaia	today, now
kutʷaia witital	this morning
nanuŋu	afternoon
atu ŋupel	tonight
tʷaltʷara	yesterday
tʷaltʷara ŋupel	last night
yiri	before, previously
yeri	tomorrow
yeri witital	tomorrow morning
yeri ŋupel	tomorrow night
tʷenti ŋenti	next week
peip	always, still
wanʷ	again

All of the time adverbs listed above, with the exception of the last two, occur normally sentence initially.

Examples:

nanuŋu nuŋu ŋa-ta-ma wui atu
 [afternoon back Fut.-I-stand return fut.aux.]
I shall come back this afternoon.

atu ŋupel awa ŋa-wa-nʷa tur atu
 [tonight meat Fut.-I-destroy cut fut.aux.]
I shall cut up the meat tonight.

The last two time adverbs listed usually precede the affix unit and verb stem.

Example:

awa pelp ka-ŋa-ni wat ayl
 [meat always NF-I-go walk CA]
I always went hunting.

b) Adverbs of Manner

Manner adverbs normally precede the affix unit and verb stem, as can be seen from the following examples:

walkititv ka-ma kay
 [loudly NF-stand call]
He calls out loudly.

yeri walarka ŋa-wa-ni wat atu
 [tomorrow slowly fut.-I-go walk fut.aux.]
Tomorrow I shall walk slowly.

c) Directionals

Apart from the locatives indicated by postpositions which were discussed above, two commonly used directionals are *nuŋu* and *mere*. *nuŋu* indicates movement towards the speaker or chief point of reference of the sentence, while *mere* indicates movement away. These directional adverbs may either precede or follow the affix unit and verb stem.

Examples:

wuta nuŋu anya kur ŋeni-la
 [water here you-fut. get me-for]
Bring me some water.

yuwa mere ka-ŋa-ni wöwe yena
 [there away NF-I-go camp to]
I am going to the camp.

7.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Maranunggu word ordering may be summarised in the following formula:

$$\pm T \pm L \pm S \pm DO \pm IO + AU \pm VS \pm \text{Inst.} \pm L$$

The formula may be interpreted thus: The first elements in the sentence are time and location phrases. These are followed by the noun subject, the direct and indirect object. The kernel of the sentence is the affix unit, which is obligatory in all sentences which contain a verb. The affix unit is most often followed by the free form verb stem, although the verb stem may equally well precede the affix unit. These are followed in turn by instrumental and perhaps further locative phrases. It must be stressed, however, that word order is

extremely free in Maranunggu, and that the formula given above represents only the most commonly observed ordering.

Example:

tʷaltʷara wöwe yena mi awa ka-ra tim ayi
 [yesterday camp at dog meat NF-hand bury CA]
 The dog buried the meat yesterday at the camp.

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7a. AMI

7a.1. GENERAL

Ami, meaning *what*, is also known as Ame and Amijangal. It is spoken today by approximately thirty to thirty five aborigines as a first language. Almost all of these people live at Delissaville Settlement, near Darwin, although some Ami speakers are to be found in Darwin itself. Stanner (1933) makes no mention of the Ami tribe, while Capell (1963: Area N,1) states that their traditional territory is on the north side of the Daly River, but that 'apart from one brief text recorded in tape by A.C. nothing is known'. Information which I have collected indicates that the traditional home of the Ami is rather on the southern side of the river. This area has, however, long been deserted, making it impossible to be certain of their original tribal territory.

Previously published material on Ami until the time of the Capell (1963) Survey was non-existent. Since that time, only a short wordlist of ninety five items has been published by the present writer (Tryon, 1968), together with notes on noun classification. (Tryon 1970).

In the Capell (1963) Survey, Ami is given the identification number N3, while in the revised survey, Oates 1970, it is listed at INr.

Within the Daly Family, Ami is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, and within this is a member of the Maranunggu Subgroup. Within the subgroup it is a dialect of Maranunggu, described above. The percentage of shared cognates with other members of the subgroup is as follows:

	Ami	Manda	Maranunggu
Ami	-	86%	72%
Manda	86	-	72%
Maranunggu	72%	72%	-

7a.2. PHONEMES

The following is a tentative list of Ami phonemes:

a) Consonants

p	t	tʷ	k
m	n	nʷ	ŋ
w	l	y	
	r	R	

R represents a trilled r as opposed to the normal alveolar median resonant.

b) Vowels

i	u
ö	
e	a

7a.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

7a.3.1. Noun Classes

7a.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

Unmodified nouns have exactly the same noun classes as those described above for Maranunggu. These are four in number, each indicated by prefixes (or free forms, see above) as follows:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) awa- | with animals used for fresh meat. |
| 3) miya- | with vegetable food and plants (edible). |
| 4) yili- | with tools, weapons and wooden implements. |

Examples:

piya	<i>head</i>
yinqi	<i>breasts</i>
awa wanka	<i>shark</i>
awa malikita	<i>snake</i>
miya mimi	<i>round yam</i>
miya wurgin	<i>cherry plum</i>
yili winʷiqkinʷ	<i>boomerang</i>
yili mitiwur	<i>nullanulla</i>

The adjective always follows the noun head and is invariable. There is no concord between adjective and noun.

Examples:

nantu tukantʷi	<i>big horse</i>
----------------	------------------

kantu tukantʔi	<i>big man</i>
muku tukantʔi	<i>big woman</i>
tʔinta tukantʔi	<i>big spear</i>
nantu kitʔalak	<i>small horse</i>
tʔinta kitʔalak	<i>small spear</i>
nantur wetʔir	<i>bad horse</i>
muku wetʔir	<i>bad woman</i>

7a.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

There are no noun classes for possession in Ami. Possession is indicated by the possessive adjective, which follows the noun in all cases. The possessive adjectives are the same as the subject pronouns listed below, 7a.4.

Examples:

ɲatta ɲanʔ	<i>my house</i>
muku ɲanʔ	<i>my wife</i>
ɲurwin ɲanʔ	<i>my money</i>

With kinship terms certain formal changes are observed according to whether they have a first or non-first person possessor.

Examples:

nɪkani ɲanʔ	<i>my father</i>
nɪla nina	<i>your father</i>
nɪla ne	<i>his father</i>
akani ɲanʔ	<i>my mother</i>
aɪa nina	<i>your mother</i>
aɪa ne	<i>his mother</i>

It is to be noted that Maranunggu, described above, has formal changes in its kinship terms according to whether the item is possessed by a first, second or third person, while in Ami, the forms with a second and third person possessor are identical. Noun possessors are treated in exactly the same way as that described above for Maranunggu.

7a.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

The postpositions used in Ami are almost identical to those listed above for Maranunggu. Only a short sample will be given here.

- 1) nene *by or with*, instrumental marker

Examples:

tyinta nene yi qu-man kur awa
[spear with CA I-hold hit meat]

I killed the fish with a spear.

ka-nya-qan^y kur työra nene
[NF-destroy-me hit stick with]

He hit me with a stick.

2) yena to, on, in, into, at

Examples:

qatta yena qa-na yöluk ayi
[house into I-go enter CA]

I went into the house.

yöye yena qi-nen ayi
[camp at I-sit CA]

I stayed at home.

3) -nö for, expresses purpose

Examples:

kak qa-na awa-nö
[move I-go meat-for]

I go hunting.

nanuqunana nantu-nö qa-tan-mu
[yesterday horse-for I-see-state]

I was looking for the horse yesterday.

7a.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

With the members of the Daly Family, both the subject and object forms of the personal pronouns have been listed together. However, as there is a dual set of object pronouns in Ami, the one for direct object and the other for indirect object, these will be treated later, and only the subject forms listed here. This dual set of object pronouns is also found in Manda. The subject pronouns, always free forms, are as follows:

<i>I</i>	qan ^y
<i>you</i>	nina
<i>he</i>	ne
<i>she</i>	qa
<i>we inc.</i>	qan ^y ku-nen ^y e
<i>we exc.</i>	qata-nen ^y e
<i>you pl.</i>	nita-nen ^y e

<i>they</i>	<i>wita-nenʔe</i>
<i>we</i> dl.inc.	<i>ŋaŋku</i>
<i>we</i> dl.exc.	<i>ŋetemetete</i>
<i>you</i> dl.	<i>nitamete</i>
<i>they</i> dl.	<i>witamete</i>

It will be observed that there is really only one series for non-singular pronouns, followed either by the plural marker *nenʔe* or the dualiser *mete*. *nenʔe* does not occur in Maranunggu, but is present in Manda. Further comment on the position of these two markers will be found below, 7a.5.

7a.5. THE VERB

7a.5.1. Verb Classes

The same eighteen verb classes that were listed above for Maranunggu are also found in Ami. However, for comparative purposes only the main six will be described in detail here. As was the case in Maranunggu, the verb has the formula: \pm Verb Stem + affix unit. All free form verb stems must be accompanied by an affix unit appropriate to the verb class. With minor exceptions, the affix units are trimorphemic, the morphemes indicating tense, actor and type of action. As with other members of this Group, the affix unit alone may constitute a complete utterance.¹ The affix units of Ami are substantially the same as those listed above for Maranunggu, although there are some significant differences which will be commented on in the appropriate section. The affix units for the six main verb classes are as follows:

7a.5.1.1. Class 1: Verbs of Motion

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	<i>Ø-ŋa-na</i>	<i>ŋa-wa-ni</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>ka-ni-ni</i>	<i>watʔa</i>
<i>he</i>	<i>ka-na</i>	<i>ka-wa-ni</i>
<i>we</i> inc.	<i>ŋa-Rka-ni</i>	<i>ŋa-Rka-ni</i>
<i>we</i> exc.	<i>watʔa-n</i>	<i>ŋa-ri-ni</i>
<i>you</i> pl.	<i>ka-ra-ni</i>	<i>watʔa-ra</i>
<i>they</i>	<i>ka-ni-nʔa</i>	<i>pu-ra-ni</i>
<i>we</i> two	<i>ŋa-ma-ni</i>	<i>ŋa-ma-ni</i>

As with Maranunggu the affix unit may precede or follow the verb stem

¹When the sense of the affix unit is basically intransitive, as for Maranunggu.

and is phonologically separate from it. It describes the general field of action, while the free form verb stem describes the particular action performed within the field delimited by the affix unit.

Examples:

yeranuya putan na-wa-ni
[tomorrow town F-I-go]
I shall go to town tomorrow.

wanka na-na pur ayi
[corroboree I-go dance CA]
I danced a corroboree.

There are two basic tenses, nonfuture and future. The nonfuture affix unit indicates a present continuous. To this may be added the completed action marker yi or ayi to form a general past. The future affix unit indicates an immediate future tense, to which may be added the future auxiliary nō or anō to form a general future.

The affix units for the four main verb classes, namely motion, sitting, standing and lying, constitute meaningful utterances in their own right, as is the case throughout the Daly Family.

While the affix units of Ami are substantially the same as those set out above for Maranunggu, there are some consistent and significant differences as follows:

1. With the first person singular nonfuture the tense marker ka- is most often deleted, although it may sometimes take the form a-.
2. With the first person plural inclusive and first person dual the ka- to na- distinction is lost, the forms being identical in Ami.
3. With Class 1 verbs the first person plural exclusive nonfuture and the second persons singular and plural future maintain the subset features discussed above for Maranunggu, but are formally different. With the other verb classes, however, they remain the same as for Maranunggu.

The plural and dual markers nen^{ve} and mete always immediately precede the tense auxiliaries.

Examples:

ka-ra-ni nen^{ve} yi putan
[NF-you-go plur. CA town]
You plural went to town.

yeranuya putan na-ri-ni mete nō
[tomorrow town F-we-go dual fut.aux.]
We two exclusive shall go to town tomorrow.

Even when the free form of the verb stem follows the affix unit, the plural and dual markers occupy the position immediately preceding the tense auxiliary, and so are not considered to be suffixes.

Example:

waŋka ka-ni-nʸa pur nenʸe yi
[corroboree NF-go-they dance plural CA]

They danced a corroboree.

Remarks made concerning the above verb class apply also to all other Ami verb classes.

7a.5.1.2. Class 2: Verbs of Standing

This class consists of verb stems denoting actions mainly performed in a standing position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋa-ma	ŋa-ta-ma
<i>you</i>	ka-na-ma	tama
<i>he</i>	ka-ma	ka-ta-ma
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rka-ma	ŋa-Rka-ma
<i>we exc.</i>	tanman	ŋa-ra-ma
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-ma	tama-ra
<i>they</i>	ku-ma-nʸa	pu-ra-ma
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-ma-ma	ŋa-ma-ma

Examples:

nanuŋu winʸiŋkinʸ ŋa-ma pir ayi
[yesterday boomerang I-stand throw CA]

I threw the boomerang yesterday.

tirpel ŋa-ma pir ayi
[saliva I-stand throw CA]

I spat.

7a.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Lying

This verb class includes verbs denoting actions mainly performed in a lying position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋi-ya	ŋa-yi
<i>you</i>	ka-ni-ya	yuna
<i>he</i>	ka-ya	ka-yi
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rki-ya	ŋa-Rki-ya
<i>we exc.</i>	yön	ŋa-ri-ya

<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ri-ya	yuŋa-ra
<i>they</i>	ku-nʔa	pi-ri-ya
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-mi-ya	ŋa-mi-ya

Examples:

nanuŋuŋana ŋurkur ka-ya yi
 [yesterday sleep NF-lie CA]
He slept yesterday.

yeranuya ŋurkur ŋa-yi nō
 [tomorrow sleep I-lie fut.aux.]
I shall sleep tomorrow.

7a.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Sitting

Verb stems belonging to this class denote actions performed sitting down, or often performed in this position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋi-nan	ŋa-ti
<i>you</i>	ka-ni-nan	niŋa
<i>he</i>	ka-nan	ka-ti
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rki-nan	ŋa-Rki-nan
<i>we exc.</i>	nin	ŋa-ri-nan
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ri-nan	niŋa-ra
<i>they</i>	ku-nin	pi-ri-nan
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-mi-nan	ŋa-mi-nan

Examples:

nanuŋuŋana ŋi-nan wira yi
 [yesterday I-sit cry CA]
I cried yesterday.

nanuŋuŋana ŋi-nan tat ayl
 [yesterday I-sit stop CA]
I stopped yesterday.

It is to be noted that such verb stems as *wira*, *to cry*, may change classes according to whether the action is performed sitting, standing, lying or on the move.

7a.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs of Actions Performed with the Hands

This class is composed of a large number of verb stems which denote actions performed with the hands. As with Maranunggu, this is a secondary verb class basically transitive, which means that the affix

unit has no independent meaning and must always be accompanied by a free form verb stem. The affix units are:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋa-ra	ŋa-ra
<i>you</i>	ka-na-ra	yara
<i>he</i>	ka-ra	ka-ra
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rka-ra	ŋa-Rka-ra
<i>we exc.</i>	yeren	ŋa-ra-ra
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-ra	yara-ra
<i>they</i>	ka-ri-nʔa	pu-ra-ra
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-ma-ra	ŋa-ma-ra

Examples:

tvinta ŋa-ra pal ayi
[spear I-hand break CA]
I broke the spear.

tvinta ka-ra pal ayi
[spear NF-hand break CA]
He broke the spear.

7a.5.1.6. Class 6: Verbs of Cutting.

As with Maranunggu, the verb stems belonging to this class do not seem to fit into any specific field of meaning, although cutting and cleaning type verb stems occur often here. The affix unit must always be accompanied by a free form verb stem, as it has no complete independent meaning. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋa-la	ŋa-pa-la
<i>you</i>	ka-na-la	pula
<i>he</i>	ka-la	ka-pa-la
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rka-la	ŋa-Rka-la
<i>we exc.</i>	pula-n	ŋa-ra-la
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-la	pu-la-ra
<i>they</i>	ka-li-nʔa	pu-ra-la
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-ma-la	ŋa-ma-la

Examples:

yiminʔ ŋa-la kat ayi
[wood I-cut chop CA]
I chopped the wood.

yeranuya gan^y yimin^y na-pa-la kat anö
 [tomorrow I wood F-I-cut chop fut.aux.]

I shall chop the wood tomorrow.

7a.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

The affix units are normally trimorphic, the morphemes occurring in the following order:

tense - actor - type of action

7a.5.2.1. Tense Morphemes

The morphemes indicating the basic tense occupy the first position in the affix unit. They are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
1 sing.	Ø-	na-
1 pl.& dl.	na-	na-
3 sing.	ka-	ka-
3 plur.	ku-	pu-
Elsewhere	ka-	na-

7a.5.2.2. Actor Morphemes

The actor morphemes, with the exception of the third person plural nonfuture occupy the second position in the affix unit, as for Maranunggu. The third plural nonfuture occupies the last position in the affix unit. As with Maranunggu, the third person singular nonfuture is always zero, while the first person plural nonfuture exclusive and the second persons singular and plural future form a separate subset which will be listed below. As will be seen from the following table, the Ami actor morphemes are identical with those listed above for Maranunggu.

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	-na-	-wa-
<i>you</i>	-na-	see below
<i>he</i>	-Ø-	-wa-
<i>we</i>	-Rka-	-Rka-
<i>we</i>	see below	-ra-
<i>you</i>	-ra-	see below
<i>they</i>	-n ^y a-	-ra-
<i>we two</i>	-ma-	-ma-

The fact that some of the forms are homophonous has been discussed above, the explanation here being the same as for Maranunggu. The

forms for the first person plural exclusive nonfuture and the second persons singular and plural of the future form a separate subset as follows:

	lexc.NF.	2s.F.	2pl.F.
Class 1	wetʎen	watʎa	watʎara
Class 2	tanman	tama	tamara
Class 3	yön	yunʉ	yunʉara
Class 4	nin	niŋa	niŋara
Class 5	yeren	yara	yarara
Class 6	pulan	pula	pulara

These forms are substantially the same as those listed for Maranunggu.

7a.5.2.3. *Type of Action Morphemes*

The morphemes denoting the general type of action normally occupy the final position in the affix unit, with the exception of the third person plural nonfuture, where it occupies the second position. They type of action morphemes are:

Class 1	-ni
Class 2	-ma
Class 3	-ya
Class 4	-nan
Class 5	-ra
Class 6	-la

7a.5.3. *Impersonal Verbs*

English verbs such as *to be hot, cold, thirsty etc.* are impersonalised in Ami in the same way as most other members of the Daly Family.

Example:

ka-ti-ŋanʎ kur wuta-nö
 [F-sit-me hit water-for]
I am thirsty.

7a.5.4. *The Object*

7a.5.4.1. *Noun Objects*

In Ami the direct object normally follows any noun subject and occurs immediately before the verb stem and affix unit.

Examples:

wutɪŋki ɲa-ra kat ayi
 [canoe I-hand out CA]
I cut out a canoe.

pölöpölö yiminʷ ka-li-nʷa kat ayi
 [old men wood NF-cut-they chop CA]
The old men cut the wood.

If a noun indirect object is also present, it precedes the direct object.

When the direct object is a part of the body it occurs twice in the sentence, both preceding and following the affix unit and verb stem.

Example:

miri nʷip ɲe-me miri yi
 [eye wink I-say eye CA]
I winked my eye.

Sometimes the second noun object is omitted, in which case a reflexive pronoun is required, as in the following example:

lumpu ɲa-ra-ɲanɪ yirk ayi
 [leg I-hand-myself scratch CA]
I scratched my leg.

7a.5.4.2. Pronoun Objects

It is in this area that both Ami and Manda differ most significantly from Maranunggu. In both of these dialects there are two series of object pronouns, the one expressing a direct object and the other an indirect object. These are represented in the following table:

	Pronoun Object (Direct)	Pronoun Object (Indirect)
<i>me</i>	-ɲanʷ	-ɲanɪ
<i>you sg.</i>	-na	-npi, -npa
<i>him</i>	-Ø	-na
<i>her</i>	-Ø	-ɲa
<i>us inc.</i>	-ɲku, -nku...nenʷe	-kinʷa, -nki...nenʷe
<i>us exc.</i>	-nʷ, -ɲanʷ...nenʷe	-ɲanɪ...nenʷe
<i>you pl.</i>	-na...nenʷe	-ninʷa...nenʷe
<i>them</i>	-na...nenʷe	-winʷa...nenʷe
<i>us two</i>	-ɲku, -nku	-nku, -nki

Where two forms are given for any object pronoun, these are morphophonemically conditioned, the second form being used where the affix unit ends in a consonant and the first being used elsewhere.

Examples of usage:

a) Direct Object

mitvirim ka-ya-nan^y karat ayi
[dog NF-lie-me bite CA]

The dog bit me.

mitvirim ka-ya-nku karat nen^{ye} yi
[dog NF-lie-us bite plural CA]

The dog bit us plural inclusive.

It will have been observed from the table above that the forms for the second person plural and singular are identical. No confusion arises as the plural marker *nen^{ye}* is used in conjunction with all plural object pronouns. However, the second and third persons plural appear also to have identical forms, a feature found with other members of the Daly Family.

b) Indirect Object

gurwin ka-ya-npi wut ayi
[money NF-lie-you give CA]

Did he give you the money?

gurwin ka-ya-win^{ya} wut nen^{ye} yi
[money NF-lie-them give plural CA]

He gave them the money.

7a.5.5. Negation

Negation is indicated in Ami by the negative marker *way* followed immediately by one of the tense auxiliaries. This negative phrase always occurs sentence initially.

Examples:

way anö na-ma kur
[not Fut. I-stand spear]

I shall not spear him.

way ayi awa ke-n^{ye}
[not CA meat NF-cook]

He did not cook the meat.

7a.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes recorded for Ami include numerals, interrogatives and adverbs. Examples of these follow.

7a.6.1. Numerals

The numerals are almost identical to those of Maranunggu. They are as follows:

1. ɲanti
2. miyitʲa
3. miyitʲaɲanti
4. miyitʲamiyitʲa
5. perɲanti

As with Maranunggu, Ami numerals follow the noun to which they refer.

7a.6.2. Interrogatives

The interrogatives of Ami are as follows:

apa	<i>who?</i>
emi	<i>what?</i>
antʲi	<i>what?</i>
möntö	<i>when?</i>
teme	<i>where?</i>
temɲana	<i>where from?</i>
eminö	<i>why?</i>
eminene	<i>what with?</i>

The interrogatives most often occupy the sentence initial position.

Examples:

apa yi ka-na-tan ?
 [who CA NF-you-look]
Who were you looking at?

teme yi ka-na-ni ?
 [where CA NF-you-go]
Where did you go?

temɲana yi ke-ne-men wuta ?
 [where from CA NF-you-get water]
Where did you get the water?

eminö yi ka-ni-nʲa-ɲanʲ kur ?
 [why CA NF-you-destroy-me hit]
Why did you hit me?

It is to be noted that there are two expressions for *what*, namely *emi* and *antʲi*. The first is however only used in conjunction with suffixes

such as -nō, for *it*, and *nene*, *by*, *with*. The second is used independently of such suffixes.

7a.6.3. Adverbs

The most common time adverbs are as follows:

yaŋu	<i>today</i>
yeranuya	<i>tomorrow</i>
nanunana	<i>yesterday</i>
ŋupel	<i>night-time</i>

As previous examples have shown, time adverbs almost always occur sentence initially.

7a.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Ami word order is exactly the same as that described above for Maranunggu, see 7.7. In Ami as in Maranunggu word order is extremely flexible. It is to be noted that the affix unit may either precede or follow the free form verb stem, an important feature revealed also in other languages belonging to the Daly Family.

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¹Items of linguistic interest indicated with asterisk beside title.

7b. MANDA

7b.1. GENERAL

Manda, meaning *what*, is a dialect of Ami and Maranunggu, just described above. I have been unable to find any reference to this dialect in any previously published work, including Capell's *Linguistic Survey of Australia* (1963).

It is spoken at present by approximately twenty five Aborigines, most of whom reside at the Delissaville Settlement near Darwin. Some Manda speakers also live in Darwin itself; a few others are to be found at various Daly River settlements. From information given to me by Manda speakers, their traditional territory is on the coast at Anson Bay on the south side of the river. With the gradual detribalisation that has taken place this century, the traditional home has been abandoned in favour of European settlements. Stanner (1933) does not mention the Manda or Ami.

Within the Daly Family, Manda is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, and within this is a member of the Maranunggu Subgroup. As was stated above, it is a dialect of Ami and Maranunggu. It has the following percentages of shared cognates with these two, based on a 200 word list:

	Manda	Ami	Maranunggu
Manda	-	86%	72%
Ami	86%	-	72%
Maranunggu	72%	72%	-

A short wordlist of some ninety five items was published by the present writer (Tryon 1968), where Manda was erroneously equated with Capell's N98, Wogaityj. The 1968 classification was tentative only, and further research within the Daly Family has shown that Manda links most closely with Ami, while Wogaityj is synonymous with Wadyiginy, for

details of which, see below Section 8.

7b.2. PHONEMES

The following is a tentative list of the phonemes of Manda:

a) Consonants

p	t	tʸ	k
m	n	nʸ	ŋ
w	l	y	
	r	R	

b) Vowels

i	u
ö	
e	a

7b.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

7b.3.1. Noun Classes

7b.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

There are four classes for unmodified nouns, indicated by prefixes. These are the same as those listed above for Maranunggu and Ami. They are as follows:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1) Ø- | with parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) awa- | with animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) miya- | with vegetable food and edible plants. |
| 4) yili- | with wooden objects, tools and weapons. |

Examples:

yin	<i>nose</i>
awa manaRk	<i>red kangaroo</i>
miya murömurö	<i>long yam</i>
yili tewer	<i>yam stick</i>

The adjective always follows the noun which it modifies and is normally invariable. If plurality is stressed, the adjective may undergo partial or complete reduplication. There is no concord between adjective and noun head.

Examples:

tʸinta yaŋu	<i>new spear</i>
mitʸirim natla	<i>good dog</i>
nentu natla	<i>good horse</i>
nentu witʸir	<i>bad horse</i>

Further examples are unnecessary as they only duplicate those given above, 7a.3.1.1., for Am1.

7b.3.1.2. *Possessive Phrases*

As with Maranunggu and Am1 there are no noun classes for possession. Possession is indicated by the possessive adjective, which always follows the noun to which it refers. The possessive adjectives, which are largely identical to the object pronouns, are as follows:

<i>my</i>	ḡanʸ, ḡeni-kurinʸ
<i>your</i>	nimpe-kurinʸ
<i>his</i>	nu-kurinʸ
<i>our</i> inc.	ḡaḡku-kurinʸ-nenʸe
<i>our</i> exc.	ḡata-kurinʸ-nenʸe
<i>your</i> pl.	ninʸa-kurinʸ-nenʸe
<i>their</i>	winʸa-kurinʸ-nenʸe
<i>our</i> dl.	ḡaḡku-kurinʸ

Examples:

mitʸirim ḡanʸ	<i>my dog</i>
muku ḡanʸ	<i>my wife</i>
mitʸirim winʸa-kurinʸ	<i>their dog</i>
mitʸirim ḡaḡku-kurinʸ	<i>our dual dog</i>

The possessive marker -kurinʸ may be omitted unless possession is stressed. In the same way the plural marker -nenʸe is often omitted.

With kinship terms certain formal differences have been observed according to whether they have a first, second or third person possessor. This parallels the usage in Maranunggu and Am1, although in Am1 only a first person/nonfirst person distinction has been observed.

Examples:

nikani	<i>my father</i>
nila	<i>your father</i>
nirkunö	<i>his father</i>
akani	<i>my mother</i>
erkinpe	<i>your mother</i>
ekile	<i>his mother</i>
mereni	<i>my brother</i>
merenpe	<i>your brother</i>
merenö	<i>his brother</i>

The normal possessive adjective is also used in conjunction with these already possessed kinship terms.

The rules governing the formal changes with the kinship terms above are as for Maranunggu, see 7.3.1.2.

7b.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

The postpositions of Manda are identical to those used in Ami, described above, and so require little comment here. The following will suffice:

- 1) *nene* *by* or *with*, instrumental marker

Example:

yimin^y ɲa-la kat i piriri nene
[wood I-cut chop CA axe with]
I chopped the wood with an axe.

- 2) *-nö* *for*, expresses purpose

Example:

muku-nö ɲa-la ka-ni-n^ya-nen^ye
[woman-for her-for NF-go-they-plural]
They came up for the woman.

7b.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

As was the case with Ami, there are two series of object pronouns, one for direct object and the other for indirect object. Rather than list them immediately, as has been done throughout this study, they will be treated separately in the section concerned with verb morphology. Ami and Manda are the only dialects within the Maranunggu sub-group which have the dual series of object pronouns, the normal rule being that there is only one series to cover both direct and indirect object. The subject pronouns, always occurring as free forms, are very similar to those listed above for Maranunggu and Ami. They are as follows:

<i>I</i>	ɲan ^y
<i>you</i>	nina
<i>he</i>	nuɲu
<i>she</i>	ɲa
<i>we</i> inc.	ɲaŋku-nen ^y e
<i>we</i> exc.	ɲata-nen ^y e
<i>you</i> pl.	nita-nin ^y e
<i>they</i>	wita-nen ^y e
<i>we</i> dl.inc.	ɲaŋku
<i>we</i> dl.exc.	ɲata-me
<i>you</i> dl.	nita-me
<i>they</i> dl.	wita-me

It is to be noted that there is in fact only one series for non-singular subject pronouns. This is followed either by the plural marker *nen'ye* or the dual marker *me*. The dual includes a small number of actors often, although not more than four, while the plural normally indicates five or more actors. The above markers are best considered as free forms and not as suffixes, as they may be separated from the affix unit by a free form verb stem. Further comment on this point will be made during the discussion of the verb.

7b.5. THE VERB

7b.5.1. Verb Classes

As with Maranunggu and Ami, there are some eighteen verb classes in Manda. For comparative purposes only the main six will be treated here, as a full description has been given in the present writer's *An Introduction to Maranungku Grammar* (1970). The verb phrase may be summarised in the following formula:

$$\text{Verb} = \pm \text{Verb Stem} + \text{Affix Unit}$$

All free form verb stems must be accompanied by the affix unit appropriate to the particular verb class and the number of the actor. The affix unit, which indicates tense, actor and type of action, may either precede or follow the verb stem. As with other members of the Daly Family, the affix units for the main classes express basic actions and may constitute independent complete utterances. Their main function, apart from indicating tense and actor, is to delimit the general field of action within which the particular action described by the free form verb stem is performed. This is a feature common to all members of this language family and indeed constitutes one of the chief characteristics of the family. The affix units for the six main verb classes are as follows:

7b.5.1.1. Class 1: Verbs of Motion

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋa-na	ŋa-ni
<i>you</i>	ka-na-ni	wari
<i>he</i>	ka-na	ka-ni
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rka-ni	ŋa-Rka-ni
<i>we exc.</i>	wari-n	ŋa-ra-ni
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ri-ni	wari-ra
<i>they</i>	ka-ni-n'ya	pa-ri-ni
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-ma-ni	ŋa-ma-ni

Examples:

yeruquya nō nitanenye tawun warira-nenye
 [tomorrow fut. you-plural town you-go-plural]
 You plural will go to town tomorrow.

tewer kal ŋa-na yi
 [tree climb I-go CA]
 I climbed the tree.

As with Maranunggu and Ami, there are two basic tenses, future and non-future. The nonfuture affix unit indicates a present continuous. To this may be added the completed marker *i* or *yi*, to form a general past. The future affix complex indicates an immediate future. When this is used in conjunction with the future tense auxiliary *ō* or *nō*, a general future tense is formed. The choice of which of the forms of the tense auxiliaries, *i* or *yi*, for past and *ō* or *nō* for future, is used depends on whether the preceding word ends in a consonant or a vowel, as for Maranunggu, above.

The affix units of Manda and Ami are almost identical and exhibit the same differences from Maranunggu. As the Ami differences have been described above, they will not be repeated in this section. It is to be noted, however, that in Manda the tense auxiliaries are not restricted to the immediate environment of the affix unit and verb stem, but often occur following the first word in the sentence, especially when that word is an adverb of time. Apart from this, remarks made concerning the verb structure of Maranunggu and Ami apply equally to Manda.

7b.5.1.2. Class 2: Verbs of Standing

This verb class includes verb stems denoting actions normally performed in a standing position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋa-ma	ŋa-ta-ma
<i>you</i>	ka-na-ma	tama
<i>he</i>	ka-ma	ka-ta-ma
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rka-ma	ŋa-Rka-ma
<i>we exc.</i>	tama-n	ŋa-ra-ma
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-ma	tama-ra
<i>they</i>	ku-mu-nya	pa-ra-ma
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-ma-ma	ŋa-ma-ma

Examples:

yeruṇuya ka-ta-ma nō
 [tomorrow F-he-stand Fut.aux.]
He will stand up tomorrow.

ḡurwin ḡa-ma pir i emöröḡana
 [stone I-stand throw CA yesterday]
I threw stones yesterday.

7b.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Lying

Actions normally thought of as performed lying down constitute the bulk of this verb class. The affix units are:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ḡa-ya	ḡa-yi
<i>you</i>	ka-ni-ya	yunḡu
<i>he</i>	ka-ya	ka-yi
<i>we inc.</i>	ḡa-Rki-ya	ḡa-Rki-ya
<i>we exc.</i>	yön	ḡa-ri-ya
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ri-ya	yunḡara
<i>they</i>	ku-nʸa	pi-ri-ya
<i>we two</i>	ḡa-mi-ya	ḡa-mi-ya

Examples:

muku ḡanʸ ḡa-ya-ḡa wut ḡana ḡurwin
 [wife my I-lie-her give past stone]
I gave the money to my wife.

emöröḡana ḡa-ya
 [yesterday I-lie]
I lay down yesterday.

It is to be noted that another past tense marker ḡana is also used frequently. This has the connotation *before*, rather than the completed action indicated by *i* or *yi*.

7b.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Sitting

Verbs belonging to this class denote actions usually performed sitting down. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ḡa-nan	ḡe-ti
<i>you</i>	ke-ni-nan	niḡa
<i>he</i>	ka-nan	ka-ti
<i>we inc.</i>	ḡa-Rki-nan	ḡa-Rki-nan

<i>we exc.</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>na^hri-nan</i>
<i>you pl.</i>	<i>ka-ri-nan</i>	<i>ni^ha-ra</i>
<i>they</i>	<i>ku-ni-nan</i>	<i>pi-ri-nan</i>
<i>we two</i>	<i>na-mi-nan</i>	<i>na-mi-nan</i>

Examples:

emöröḡana na-nan wiriya
[*yesterday I-sit cry*]
I cried yesterday.

eruwe na-nan eruwe emöröḡana
[*laugh I-sit laugh yesterday*]
I laughed yesterday.

As with Maranunggu and Ami, the affix units alone may represent complete utterances for the main verb classes, as the above examples have shown. With the two classes which now follow, as examples of the total system, the affix units must always be accompanied by a free form verb stem, since they cannot stand alone as complete utterances, as for Maranunggu.

7b.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs of Actions Performed with the Hands

This verb class is composed mainly of verb stems indicating actions performed with the hands. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-na-ra	na-ra
<i>you</i>	ka-na-ra	yeri
<i>he</i>	ka-ra	ka-ra
<i>we inc.</i>	na-Rka-ra	na-Rka-ra
<i>we exc.</i>	yeri-n	na-ra-ra
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-ra	yerara
<i>they</i>	ka-ri-n ^h a	pu-ra-ra
<i>we two</i>	na-ma-ra	na-ma-ra

Examples:

nina yara kir yeri pit ö
[*you child small you-F wash fut.aux.*]
You will wash the baby.

yara kir na-ra pit ḡana
[*child small I-hand wash before*]
I washed the baby.

7b.5.1.6. Class 6: Verbs of Cutting

This verb class has no clear semantic field, although cutting and cleaning actions tend to predominate. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	Ø-ŋa-la	ŋa-pa-la
<i>you</i>	ka-na-la	pula
<i>he</i>	ka-la	ka-pa-la
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋa-Rka-la	ŋa-Rka-la
<i>we exc.</i>	pula-n	ŋa-ra-la
<i>you pl.</i>	ka-ra-la	pula-ra
<i>they</i>	ka-il-nŋa	pu-ra-la
<i>we two</i>	ŋa-ma-la	ŋa-ma-la

Examples:

yimin^y ŋa-la kat i
 [wood I-cut chop CA]
I chopped the wood.

yimin^y pula kat ö
 [wood you-cut chop fut.aux.]
You will chop the wood.

7b.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

As with Maranunggu and Ami, the affix units are normally trimorphic, the morphemes occurring in the following order:

tense - actor - type of action

The morpheme breakdown will be presented without comment as it is the same as for Ami and is given here simply for comparative purposes.

7b.5.2.1. Tense Morphemes

The tense morphemes occupy the initial position in the affix unit. They are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
1 sing.	Ø-	ŋa-
1 pl. & dl.	ŋa-	ŋa-
3 sing.	ka-	ka-
3 Plur.	ku-	pu-
Elsewhere	ka-	ŋa-

7b.5.2.2. Actor Morphemes

The actor morphemes, with the exception of the third person plural nonfuture, occupy the second position in the affix unit. They are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	-ŋa-	-wa-
<i>you</i>	-na-	see below
<i>he</i>	-Ø-	-wa-
<i>we inc.</i>	-Rka-	-Rka-
<i>we exc.</i>	see below	-ra-
<i>you pl.</i>	-ra-	see below
<i>they</i>	-nʏa-	-ra-
<i>we two</i>	-ma-	-ma-

As with Maranunggu and Ami, the first person plural exclusive nonfuture and the second persons singular and plural future form a separate subset as follows:

	lexc.NF.	2s.F.	2pl.F.
Class 1	warɪn	wari	warɪra
Class 2	taman	tama	tamara
Class 3	yön	yunʉ	yunʉara
Class 4	nɪn	nɪŋa	nɪŋara
Class 5	yerɪn	yeri	yarara
Class 6	pulan	pula	pulara

These forms are the same as those listed above for Ami, with the exception that the units for Class 1 verbs are the same as for Maranunggu.

7b.5.2.3. Type of Action Morphemes

The morphemes denoting the general type of action normally occupy the final position in the affix unit, with the exception of the third person plural nonfuture, where it occupies the second position. The morphemes indicating type of action in Manda are as follows:

Class 1	-ni
Class 2	-ma
Class 3	-ya
Class 4	-nan
Class 5	-ra
Class 6	-la

7b.5.3. The Object

7b.5.3.1. Noun Objects

In Manda any noun object normally follows the noun subject and occurs before the verb stem and affix unit. It may, however, follow the affix unit and verb stem.

Examples:

tvinta ɲa-rö patʋ ɲana ɛmörö
[spear I-project throw before yesterday]
I threw the spear yesterday.

yeranuya ɲa-pö-rö patʋ ö tvinta
[tomorrow F-I-project throw fut. spear]
I shall throw the spear tomorrow.

Remarks made above 7a.5.4.1. concerning body parts as direct objects apply also to Manda, making further examples unnecessary.

7b.5.3.2. Pronoun Objects

In both Manda and AmI there are two sets of object pronouns, the one for direct object and the other for indirect object.

	Direct Object	Indirect Object
<i>me</i>	-ɲanʋ, -nʋ	-ni
<i>you sg.</i>	-na	-npa
<i>him</i>	-Ø	-na
<i>her</i>	-Ø	-ɲa
<i>us inc.</i>	-ɲkina	-ɲkinʋa
<i>us exc.</i>	-ɲarina	-ɲarinʋa
<i>you pl.</i>	-nina	-ninʋa
<i>them</i>	-wina	-winʋa
<i>us two</i>	-ɲku	-ɲku

It will be seen that the Manda forms are identical to those listed above for AmI in the singular. In the plural, however, there are considerable differences, especially with the direct object forms.

Examples of usage:

1) Direct Object

ka-nʋa-na kur ɲana
[NF-hurt-you hit before]
He hit you.

emörö ka-tan-ŋanʸ ter nene
 [yesterday NF-see-me policeman by]
Yesterday a policeman saw me.

Note that there is a zero morpheme indicating the third person singular actor.

b) Indirect Object

awa ŋa-yi-ŋpa wut ö
 [meat fut-lie-you give fut.aux.]
I shall give you the meat.

muku ŋanʸ ŋa-ya-ŋa wut ŋana yurwin
 [wife my I-lie-her give before stone]
I gave the money to my wife.

emörö mitʸirim ŋa-ya-na wut ŋana
 [yesterday dog I-lie-him give before]
I gave him the dog yesterday.

7b.5.4.. Negation

Negation is indicated by one of the two following negative phrases:

- a) way ŋana, for nonfuture tense verbs.
- b) way ö, for future tense verbs.

These negative phrases normally occur sentence initially.

Examples:

way ŋana ŋa-ra pit yera klr
 [not before I-hand wash child small]
I did not wash the little baby.

way ŋana ka-ma wul
 [not before NF-stand return]
He did not return.

way ö ŋa-ta-ma wul yeruŋuya¹
 [not fut. F-I-stand return tomorrow]
I shall not come back tomorrow.

7b.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes not included in the above grammatical outline include numerals, interrogatives and adverbs. The following is a selection of examples:

¹way i is used as well as way ŋana, for past negative.

7b.6.1. Numerals

1. ɲanti
2. miyita
3. miyitaɲanti
4. miyitamiyita
5. paɲanti

7b.6.2. Interrogatives

möntö	<i>when?</i>
mente	<i>what?</i>
ampa	<i>who?</i>
mente-nö	<i>why?</i>

7b.6.3. Adverbs

The most frequently used time adverbs are as follows:

ɲupel	<i>night-time</i>
kutʼaia	<i>today</i>
yeruɲuya	<i>tomorrow</i>
emöröɲana	<i>yesterday</i>

7b.7. WORD ORDER

Manda word order is the same as that described above for Maranunggu and Ami. As with the latter two, the word order is very flexible in Manda, although certain preferred orderings have been observed, as was remarked in the case of the other languages in this subgroup.

MANDA BIBLIOGRAPHY¹

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¹Items of linguistic interest indicated with asterisk beside title.

8. PUNGUPUNGU

8.1. GENERAL

Pungupungu has the following recorded variant names and spellings: Bongobongo, Ponga-Pongo, Pungupungu, Punpungu and Pungupunga, Kandyer-amal.

It is spoken today by only a handful of old people in and around Darwin. According to Capell (1963: Ares N,2) the traditional territory of the Pungupungu people was 'on the south bank of the Daly River, inland from coastal Wogait'. However, Stanner (1933:382) places them on the north bank. Stanner's information agrees with information given to me by the few remaining Pungupungu speakers. As is the case with most of the present day groups, the traditional tribal territory as long been abandoned in favour of settlements near European centres.

Previously published information on Pungupungu is confined to odd references to the name, in Eylmann, MacKillop, Basedow and Stanner. No linguistic information has been previously published except a short wordlist in Tryon (1968). The present writer has, however, collected a considerable body of material in the language, and a descriptive grammar is in active preparation.

In Capell (1963) Pungupungu is assigned the number N6, while in Oates (1970) it is listed as 2Nr.

Within the Daly Family, Pungupungu is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, and within this is a member of the Wogaity subgroup. From the lexical point of view it is a dialect of Wadyiginy and Batyamal, although on the grammatical level there are some significant differences between the two. Within the sub-group it shows the following percentages of shared cognates:

	Pungupungu	Wadyiginy	Batyamal
Pungupungu	-	79%	80%
Wadyiginy	79%	-	90%
Batyamal	80%	90%	-

From the above figures it would appear that Pungupungu and Wady-iginy form a subgroup on their own, apart from Maranunggu, Manda and Aml.

8.2. PHONEMES

The phonemes of Pungupungu are as follows:

a) Consonants

p	t	t̥	tʲ	k
m	n	ŋ	nʲ	ŋ
w	r	ɾ	y	
	l	l̥		

b) Vowels

i	u
ö	
e	a

8.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

8.3.1. Noun Phrases

8.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

Unmodified nouns fall into four classes in the same manner as the other members of the Daly Family. The classes are indicated by prefixes as follows:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 1) ø- | parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) metʲem- | with animals hunted for flesh meat. |
| 3) menenʲ- | with vegetable food and plants. |
| 4) wiŋ- | with trees, weapons and wooden implements. |

Examples:

pötʲe	<i>head</i>
kelkel	<i>leaf</i>
metʲem-walanʲ	<i>snake</i>
metʲem-kenke	<i>red kangaroo</i>
menenʲ-melunmelun	<i>'cheeky' yam</i>
menenʲ-melkin	<i>spinifex</i>
wiŋ-mele	<i>ironwood</i>

The adjective always follows the noun which it modifies, and is normally invariable. The adjective may undergo partial or complete reduplication if plurality is stressed. There is no concord between

adjective, possessive adjective and noun head.

Examples:

	muyin pamalaŋ	<i>big dog</i>
	maŋ ŋölma	<i>heavy stone</i>
	maŋ watpar	<i>light stone</i>
	ŋawalaŋ pamalaŋ	<i>big woman</i>
But:	ŋeneŋ pamankalaŋ	<i>big men</i>
	nentur tʻaraku	<i>good horse</i>
	nentur paraku	<i>good horses</i>

It is to be noted, however, that only the most common adjectives undergo a formal change when plurality is stressed.

8.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

As with the other members of this subgroup there are no noun classes for possession in Pungupungu, with the exception of certain kinship terms. When a noun is pronominally possessed, the possessive adjective follows the noun. The possessive adjectives are:

<i>my</i>	ŋetʻe
<i>your</i>	kene
<i>his</i>	tʻamuyitʻ
<i>her</i>	tʻanmuyitʻ
<i>our inc.</i>	ŋerere
<i>our exc.</i>	ŋere
<i>your pl.</i>	nawara
<i>their</i>	parmuyitʻ
<i>our dl.</i>	ŋaŋka

Apart from the first person inclusive, dual possession is indicated by the suffix *-kenʻ*, as in *nawara-kenʻ*, *our dual*.

It is to be noted that *pötun*, meaning *belonging to*, may be added to the possessive phrase to lend emphasis. Examples of possessive phrases:

welere ŋetʻe	<i>my spear</i>
rek ŋetʻe	<i>my camp</i>
pötʻe ŋetʻe	<i>my head</i>
muyinʻ ŋetʻe	<i>my dog</i>
welere kene	<i>your spear</i>
metʻem kene	<i>your meat</i>

Note that Pungupungu is one of the members of the Daly Family in which the noun class marker also occurs as a free form, as in the above example; *metʻem* alone means *meat*, but also acts as the class marker for

Class 3 nouns.

Certain kinship terms undergo a change in form according to the person possessing them. These are best explained by the following chart:

	Father	Mother
1st person	pa-palak	kalaŋ-palak
2nd person	papa-kene	kalaŋ-kene
3rd person	yen-papa-nʸiniŋ	yen-kalaŋ-nʸiniŋ

With kinship terms, if the item is possessed by a first person possessor, the suffix -palak is used; with second person possessors the noun is followed by the normal possessive adjective; with third person possessors the prefix yen- is used, followed optionally by -nʸiniŋ.

With noun possessors, if the possessor and possessed are in an intimate relationship or when part of a whole is expressed, the possessor precedes the possessed without the use of an overt possessive marker. Examples:

muyinʸ keipe	<i>the dog's tail</i>
ilitʸpurp pere	<i>the axe handle</i>

When the possessor and possessed are in an acquired relationship, the possessive marker pötun is placed between the possessor and possessed.

Examples:

papalak pötun welere	<i>my father's spear</i>
nawalaŋ pötun warkati	<i>the woman's dilly-bag</i>

8.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

The bulk of the remaining Pungupungu noun morphology consists of a series of postpositions, the principal ones being:

- 1) -uŋ expresses purpose or desire

Examples:

wik-uŋ ŋe-pe-m
[water-for I-go-pres.cont.]
I want some water.

wiŋ-uŋ pöy ŋe-pe
[wood-for go I-go]
I am going to get some wood.

pöretʸ-uŋ ŋe-pl-yaŋ
[sleep-for I-fut.-lie]
I am going to have a sleep.

- 2) -ken^y with, expresses accompaniment

Example:

kut^{ya} ɲe-pe-m wally-ma muyin^y-ken^y
[there I-go-p.c. walk-state dog-with]

I used to walk that way with the dog.

With personal nouns the affix unit used is never singular, but always plural or dual, as in:

pöy ker-pe-ɲ-ken^y Andy-ken^y
[go they-go-p.c.-dl. Andy-with]

He went with Andy.

- 3) pene on, in, to

Example:

pöy ker-pe rek pene
[go they-go camp to]

They went to the camp.

- 4) karaɲ...pene under, underneath

Example:

muyin^y karaɲ ɲatta pene ke-mi-m
[dog under house in he-sit-p.c.]

The dog is under the house.

- 5) peneke beside

Example:

ɲawalan met^{yem}-walan^y peneke ken^y-t^ye-m
[woman meat-snake beside she-stand-p.c.]

The woman is standing beside a snake.

- 6) meke from, because

Examples:

maɲ pene meke t^yöröt ɲe-pe-m
[stone on from descend I-go-p.c.]

I am getting down from the rock.

maɲ wa ɲi-ye t^yit^ye meke
[stone get I-lie this one from]

I got the money from him.

ɲet^ye tinkirk wa ɲi-ye met^{yem} t^yalkma meke lak ɲi-ye
[I sick get I-lie meat bad from eat I-lie]

I am sick because I ate rotten meat.

7) tʷene by, with, instrumental marker

Examples:

welere wuntʷat ɲa-pa-ti kalan-tʷene
 [spear throw I-go-project woomera-with]
 I threw the spear with a woomera.

ta ɲi-ye-nuŋ wiŋ-tʷene
 [hit I-lie-him stick-with]
 I hit him with a stick.

The instrumental marker may also be used as a focus marker, suffixed to the subject, as in the following example:

muyinʷ kene tʷene tar ki-ye-ɲarka
 [dog your by bite he-lie-me]
 Your dog bit me.

8.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

Pungupungu subject pronouns occur as free forms, while the object series is always bound. The pronouns are as follows:

	Subject	Object
<i>I</i>	ɲetʷe	-ɲarka
<i>you</i>	kene	-wiŋ
<i>he</i>	tʷamuyitʷ	-nuŋ
<i>she</i>	tʷanmuyitʷ	-ɲetʷeŋ
<i>we inc.</i>	ɲerere	-ɲerereŋ
<i>we exc.</i>	ɲere	-ɲereŋ
<i>you pl.</i>	nawara	-nawaraŋ
<i>they</i>	parmuyitʷ	-pöraŋ
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	ɲaŋka	-ɲaŋkuŋ
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	ɲerekenʷ	-ɲereŋkenʷ
<i>you dl.</i>	nawarakenʷ	-nawaraŋkenʷ
<i>they dl.</i>	parmuyitʷkenʷ	-pöraŋkenʷ

The only true dual form in Pungupungu is ɲaŋka, expressing first person inclusive. The remaining dual forms consist of plural forms to which the dualising suffix -kenʷ is added.

8.5. THE VERB

8.5.1. Verb Classes

In Pungupungu there are approximately twenty verb classes, of which the main four will be described in this study. (For a full description, see D.T. Tryon *An Introduction to Pungupungu*, in preparation.)

The Wadyiginy and Pungupungu verb classes are almost identical, and although they operate in much the same way as Maranunggu, Manda and Ami, there are some significant differences.

In Pungupungu the verb has the formula:

± Verb Stem + Affix Unit (+ Actor ± Tense + Aspect)

All free form verb stems must be accompanied by an affix unit appropriate to the verb class of which they are members. The affix units are trimorphemic, with the exception of the nonfuture, which is usually dimorphemic. The morphemes within the affix unit indicate actor, tense and aspect/type of action. In some cases, the affix unit alone may constitute a complete utterance. This feature will be further commented on below.

It should be noted that all of the Pungupungu verb classes function in exactly the same manner as the four specimen classes to be described. The affix units for the four principal verb classes are as follows:

8.5.1.1. *Class 1: Verbs of Lying*

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-ye	ŋa-pi-yaŋ
<i>you</i>	kenʔi-ye	na-pi-yaŋ
<i>he</i>	ki-ye	ye-pi-yaŋ
<i>she</i>	kenʔ-ye	yenʔ-pi-yaŋ
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋeri-ye	ŋara-pi-yaŋ
<i>we exc.</i>	ŋere	ŋar-pi-yaŋ
<i>you pl.</i>	kenki-ye	nar-pi-yaŋ
<i>they</i>	kere	per-pi-yaŋ
<i>we dl.</i>	ŋaŋki-ye	ŋaŋka-pi-yaŋ

In Pungupungu the main tense distinction is between future and nonfuture. Further tense refinements, indicated by suffixing to the affix unit will not be discussed here.

With the nonfuture affix units there are only two morphemes, indicating actor and type of action. To mark a habitual or continuous, the suffix -m is added to these units. With future affix units there are three morphemes, as is the norm in the Daly Family, indicating actor, futurity and type of action, in this class lying down. With the nonfuture affix units it is to be noted that first person plural exclusive and third person plural forms are monomorphemic for this one verb class only. Elsewhere they remain di-morphemic.

The affix unit describes the general field of action, while the verb stem itself describes the action performed within the specified field.

Examples of usage:

mörakara marka nʏul ɲi-ye
[yesterday flower smell I-lie]
Yesterday I smelled the flower.

yɪnʏmek ɲatta ɭurɯŋ ɲa-pi-yaŋ
[tomorrow house clean I-fut.-lie]
I shall clean the house tomorrow.

Only the first person dual inclusive has a separate affix unit. In all other cases the dualiser -kenʏ is suffixed to the plural affix unit.

Example:

yɪnʏmek ɲatta ɭurɯŋ nara-pi-yaŋ-kenʏ
[tomorrow house clean you pl.-fut.-lie-dual]
You two will clean the house tomorrow.

With noun subjects, the affix unit used is that of either the third person singular or plural.

Example:

pampatʏ wɪŋ tʏam ki-ye
[baby breast eat he-lie]
The baby drank the milk.

With verb classes whose sense is basically intransitive, each of the affix units may constitute an independent and meaningful utterance and may be used without an accompanying free form verb stem.

Examples:

ɲi-ye	<i>I lay down</i>
kenʏe-ye	<i>you lay down</i>
ki-ye	<i>he lay down</i>

The majority of verb stems belonging to verb Class 1, by far the largest class, are predominantly thought of as normally performed in a supine position. The inclusion of some verb stems, for example tʏam, *to drink*, appears strange to Europeans. Most other Pungupungu verb classes are, however, much more limited in membership than this first class.

8.5.1.2. Class 2: Verbs of Sitting

Verb class 2 includes verb stems denoting mainly actions thought of as normally performed in a sitting position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋe-mi	ŋa-p-mu
<i>you</i>	kenʔe-mi	na-p-mu
<i>he</i>	ke-mi	ya-p-mu
<i>she</i>	kenʔ-mi	yetʔ-mu
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋere-mi	ŋara-p-mu
<i>we exc.</i>	ŋer-mi	ŋar-p-mu
<i>you pl.</i>	kanka-mi	nar-p-mu
<i>they</i>	ker-mi	par-p-mu
<i>we dl.</i>	ŋaŋka-mi	ŋaŋka-p-mu

ŋemi alone means *I sat*, while ŋapmu means *I shall sit*. As stated above, these affix units are used in conjunction with verbs denoting actions usually performed sitting down.

Examples:

mörakara metʔem lak-ma ŋe-mi
 [yesterday meat eat-state I-sit]
I ate meat yesterday.

yinʔmek kenek-ma ŋa-p-mu
 [tomorrow laugh-state I-fut.-sit]
I shall laugh tomorrow.

8.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Standing

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋe-tʔe	ŋa-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>you</i>	kenʔe-tʔe	na-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>he</i>	ke-tʔe	ya-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>she</i>	kenʔ-tʔe	ya-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋere-tʔe	ŋara-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>we exc.</i>	ŋer-tʔe	ŋar-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>you pl.</i>	kenke-tʔe	nar-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>they</i>	ker-tʔe	par-pa-tʔaŋ
<i>we dl.</i>	ŋaŋka-tʔe	ŋaŋka-pa-tʔaŋ

As with the other verb classes previously mentioned, the above affix units are meaningful independent of any accompanying verb stem, having the meaning *to stand up*.

Example:

mörakara ŋaka ŋe-tʔe-nuŋ wunkel
 [yesterday ask I-stand-him tobacco]
I asked him for tobacco yesterday.

8.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Motion

Verb stems in this class denote actions mainly involving movement from place to place. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋe-pe	ŋe-p-pe
<i>you</i>	kenʷe-pe	ne-p-pe
<i>he</i>	ke-pe	ye-p-pe
<i>she</i>	kenʷ-pe	yetʷ-pe
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋera-pe	ŋera-p-pe
<i>we exc.</i>	ŋer-pe	ŋer-p-pe
<i>you pl.</i>	kenka-pe	ner-p-pe
<i>they</i>	ker-pe	per-p-pe
<i>we dl.</i>	ŋaŋka-pe	ŋaŋka-p-pe

ŋepe alone means *I went*, while ŋeppe means *I shall go*.

Examples of usage:

yinʷmek wally-me ŋe-p-pe
 [tomorrow walk-state I-fut.-go]
Tomorrow I shall go for a walk.

mörakara putan puy ke-pe
 [yesterday town go he-go]
He went to town yesterday.

8.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affix Units

As was stated above, the Pungupungu affix units are normally di-morphemic for nonfuture and trimorphemic for future tense. The morphemes occur in the following order:

actor - tense - type of action

It is in the morpheme ordering within the affix unit that Pungupungu and Wadyiginy differ significantly from the other members of the Group, since in Maranunggu, Manda and Ami the normal ordering is: tense - actor - type of action.

8.5.2.1. Actor Morphemes

The morphemes indicating the actor occur first in the affix unit and are regular through all verb classes. They are:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋa-	ŋa-
<i>you</i>	kenye-	na-
<i>he</i>	ka-	ya-
<i>she</i>	keny-	yenʏ- or yetʏ-
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋere-	ŋere-
<i>we exc.</i>	ŋer-	ŋer-
<i>you pl.</i>	kenke-	nar-
<i>they</i>	kar-	par-
<i>we dl.</i>	ŋaŋka-	ŋaŋka-

Note that several of the forms vary according to the tense of the verb.

8.5.2.2.. Tense and Type of Action

The following suffixes indicate tense and type of action:

	Nonfuture	Future
Class 1 (lying)	-ye	-pa-yaŋ
Class 2 (sitting)	-mi	-p-mu
Class 3 (standing)	-tʏe	-pa-tʏaŋ
Class 4 (motion)	-pe	-p-pe

With the nonfuture, therefore, the tense indicator is Ø-, while with the future it takes the form -p(V)-. The remaining Pungupungu verb classes, not described here, operate in exactly the same manner as those just described.

8.5.3. Impersonal Verbs

Verbs which express a state of being, such as being hot, cold, sweaty, etc. are impersonal in Pungupungu, the heat and cold becoming the actors, a feature common to all the members of the Daly Family.

Examples:

pulpul tʏat ke-tʏe-ŋarka
[heat hit he-stand-me]

I am hot.

wuluruk yer ki-ye-ŋarka
[sweat grip he-lie-me]

I am sweating.

maŋkara tʏup ki-ye-ŋarka
[cold catch he-lie-me]

I have a cold.

8.5.4. Direct Object

The direct object in Pungupungu normally occupies the slot in the sentence immediately preceding the verb stem, if a noun. Pronominal objects are suffixed to the affix unit. The direct object is best described in three sections.

8.5.4.1. Common Nouns (Animate)

With animate nouns, the direct object may be placed either before or after the verb stem and affix unit. In all cases with animate nouns the object is repeated in pronominal form suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

mōrakara muiŋ^y ta ŋi-ye-nuŋ
[yesterday dog hit I-lie-him]
I hit the dog yesterday.

ta! ŋi-ye-nuŋ muiŋ^y ŋet^{ye}
[tie I-lie-him dog my]
I tied up my dog.

8.5.4.2. Common Nouns (Inanimate)

When the direct object is an inanimate noun it is not repeated in pronominal form suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

muiŋ^y yerwat ke-ye met^{ye}m
[dog bury he-lie meat]
The dog buried the meat.

8.5.4.3. Pronoun Objects

The pronoun objects listed above in section 8.4. always occur suffixed to the affix unit.

Examples:

maŋ wup ŋi-ye-nuŋ
[stone give I-lie-him]
I gave him the money.

muiŋ^y tar ye-pi-yaŋ-wiŋ
[dog bite he-fut.-lie-you]
The dog will bite you.

8.5.5. Negation

The negative in Pungupungu is indicated by the negative particle

nakuli, which occurs immediately before the verb stem, or the affix unit in sentences where the affix unit alone is used.

Examples of usage:

ɲatta nakuli wɪrk ɲi-ye
[house not finish I-lie]

I did not finish the house.

nakuli tɻam na-pl-yaŋ ne-p-peɾe
[not eat you-fut.-lie you-fut.-die]

If you do not eat, you will die.

8.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other Pungupungu word classes include numerals, adverbs of time and manner, directionals and interrogatives.

8.6.1. Numerals

The numerals follow the same pattern as for the other members of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. They are:

1. ɲantɻitɻ
2. parkatənkenɻ
3. parkatənɲantɻitɻ
4. parkatənkenɻ parkatənkenɻ
5. paraɲantɻitɻ

The numerals always follows the noun which it qualifies, for example:

muyinɻ ɲantɻitɻ	one dog
muyinɻ paraɲantɻitɻ	five dogs

When a numeral occurs in conjunction with another modifier, it occurs phrase finally.

Example:

muyinɻ pamankalaŋ ɲetɻe pötun parkatənkenɻ
[dog big my belong two]
My two big dogs.

8.6.2. Interrogatives

The most common interrogatives of Pungupungu are as follows:

naka	who? whom? which?
tɻina	where at?
tɻinatɻö	where to?

kineme	<i>where from?</i>
anikine	<i>when?</i>
nʏinity	<i>what?</i>
nʏinityuŋ	<i>why?</i>
nʏinity tʏene	<i>how?</i>

The interrogatives normally occur sentence initially, as the following examples show:

naka tʏitye ŋenen ?
 [who there man]
Who is that man?

naka tʏitye ke-me ?
 [who there he-sit]
Who is that sitting there?

winʏiŋkinʏ naka marinʏ ki-ye ?
 [boomerang who make he-lie]
Who made the boomerang?

Where has several forms in Pungupungu, and is best described in three parts.

a) *Where at?*

There are three forms which express *where at?* summarised in the following matrix:

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	tʏina	tʏinʏana
Plural	pina	pina

The form selected agrees with the subject for number and gender.

Examples:

rek tʏina ?
 [camp where]
Where is the camp?

ŋawalan ŋetʏe tʏinʏana ?
 [woman my where]
Where is my wife?

muyinʏ ŋetʏe pina ?
 [dog my where]
Where are my dogs?

With plural subjects, *pina* is used for both masculine and feminine.

b) *Where to?*

Where to? is indicated by *tʲinatʲö* for singular subjects and *pinatʲö* for plural subjects, as in the following examples:

muyinʲ tʲinatʲö ke-pe-m ?
 [dog where to he-go-pres.cont.]
Where is the dog going?

ɳawak pinatʲö ker-pe-m ?
 [women where to they-go-pres.cont.]
Where are the women going?

c) *Where from?*

Where from? is expressed by *kinimeke* or its shortened form *kinime*.

Example:

ɳawalan kinimeke kenʲ-pe-m para ?
 [woman where from she-go-p.c. back]
Where does the woman come from?

The remaining Pungupungu interrogatives have only one form, as in the following examples:

anikine win ɳetʲer na-pl-yan ?
 [when wood cut you-fut.-lie]
When are you going to cut the wood?

nʲinittʲun ta kenʲe-ye-ɳarka ?
 [why hit you-lie-me]
Why did you hit me?

nʲinitʲ yuw-ma kenʲe-mi ?
 [what look-state you-sit]
What are you looking at?

nʲinittʲ tʲene ɳetʲer kenʲl-ye wörak ?
 [what by cut you-lie grass]
How are you going to cut the grass?

8.6.3. Adverbs

The most common adverbs express time, manner and direction.

a) Adverbs of Time

The most common time adverbs are as follows:

yanaran	<i>today, now</i>
tʲelpene	<i>morning</i>

kölömörö	afternoon, evening
ŋlk	night
yinymek	tomorrow
mörakara	yesterday
ŋurltʷl	early evening
pente	now
yinymek ŋantʷitʷ	day after tomorrow
mörakara ŋantʷitʷ	day before yesterday

Examples:

mörakara tʷilk ŋe-me-m
 [yesterday hurt I-say-pres.cont.]
I hurt myself yesterday.

yinymek tʷelpene ŋe-pa-ŋetʷem para
 [tomorrow morning I-fut.-return back]
I shall come back tomorrow.

namuyuk pente ke-mi
 [old man now he-sit]
He is an old man now.

b) Adverbs of Manner

Adjectives serve as adverbs of manner in Pungupungu. They either immediately precede or follow the verb stem; when no free form verb stem is used, the adverb precedes the affix unit.

Examples:

tʷamuyitʷ mai wetet ke-pe-m
 [he talk fast he-say-pres.cont.]
He talks too fast.

ŋura ŋetʷer ŋa-pl-yaŋ-nuŋ tʷaraku
 [penis cut I-fut.-lie-him good]
I can circumcise him well.

c) Directionals

There are two principal directionals in Pungupungu, both used with verbs of motion. These are kak and para.

1) kak indicates movement away from the place at present occupied by the speaker or speakers. It normally precedes the verb stem and affix unit thus:

kak ŋa-pati-m
 [away I-go-pres.cont.]
I am going.

Note that this affix unit belongs to a different verb class from that of Class 4 described above.

kamangka kak pente na-p-patin
[no away now I-Fut.-go]
No, I shall go now.

2) para indicates movement towards the place actually occupied by the speaker or speakers. It normally follows the affix unit, thus:

kinime kenye-pe-m para
[where from you-go-p.c. back]
Where do you come from?

ynymek ye-pe-neyem para
[tomorrow he-fut.-return back]
Will he come back tomorrow?

8.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Pungupungu word ordering may be summarised in the following formula:

± T ± L ± S ± DO ± IO ± VS + AU ± Inst. ± L

The formula is interpreted as follows: the first elements in the sentence are normally time and location phrases, although location phrases are regularly found after the verb stem and affix unit. Next in order come the subject, if a noun, followed by the direct and indirect objects. The kernel of the sentence consists of the verb stem and accompanying affix unit, which are followed regularly by the instrumental/agentive phrase.

Example:

mörakara muyin^y neie tar ki-ye-narka rek pene
[yesterday dog hand bite he-lie-me camp at]
Yesterday the dog bit my hand at the camp.

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¹Items of linguistic interest indicated with asterisk beside title.

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8a. WADYIGINY

8a.1. GENERAL

Wadyiginy has previously been called Wogait by various writers. For this there are many recorded variant spellings including: Wogait, Wagatsch, Waggait, Wagaitj, Waggate, Waggites, Waggote, Waogatsch, War-gad, Wogadj, Worgaid, Worgaidj, Wogatj, Wogaity, Wogite, Worgait, Wor-gite and Wogaidj.

Its location has been described by Capell (1963: Area N, 24) as 'on the coast at Anson Bay, from Cape Ford north to the mouth of the Daly River and inland for about twenty miles'. In Capell's survey it is assigned the number N98. In the Oates survey (1970) it is listed at N36.

Previous literature on Wogait includes a twenty eight item wordlist in Basedow (1907:60). Capell (1940:411) has published a twenty item wordlist, phonological and morphological notes and a list of the subject pronouns. Other references to Wogait are to be found in Stanner (1933) and Nekes and Worms (1953). A ninety five item wordlist has also been published by the present writer, together with notes on noun classification and concord (Tryon 1968, 1970). Apart from the above, nothing comprehensive has appeared to date. Hoddinott is preparing a depth study of the language and accordingly the structural outline to be given below will be briefer than for those language members of the Daly Family for which no depth study is currently in progress.

Wogait is in fact a misnomer for Wadyiginy. Wogait designates a beach dweller anywhere from the mouth of the Daly River to Delissaville, near Darwin. At the present time nearly all Wogait people live at and around Delissaville. The name of the language spoken by them is Wadyiginy, which has another sub-dialect called Batyamal. Wadyiginy has several variant spellings, namely Wadjigin, Wadjigi:n, Wadjingi and Wadjingy. The term Batyamal has not been encountered in any previous

published work.

From information which I have been able to collect, present day Wadyiginy speakers formerly inhabited Peron Island. Others lived on the mainland around the mouth of the Daly River. The original language of Peron Island is said to be Giuk, although this language is now extinct. The original language position is difficult to reconstruct, but at present all of the Wogait people have left their traditional home and live mostly at Delissaville, speaking Wadyiginy and Batyamal. Batyamal shares 90% cognates with Wadyiginy and has an almost identical grammatical structure. Accordingly, a description of its morphological features is superfluous, as it would only duplicate the features described below for Wadyiginy. A Batyamal wordlist is, however, included in the appropriate section.

There are approximately thirty five Wadyiginy and twenty Batyamal speakers remaining at the present time, nearly all at Delissaville, as stated above, although some speakers may also be found near the Daly River Crossing.

Within the Daly Family, Wadyiginy is a member of the Brinken-Wogaity group and within this is a member of the Wogaity subgroup. Within the subgroup it shows the following percentages of shared cognates:

	Wadyiginy	Batyamal	Pungupungu
Wadyiginy	-	90%	79%

Wadyiginy poses a problem in classification in that although it shares 79% cognates with Pungupungu, it shows morphological innovations which would certainly impede communication between Pungupungu and Wadyiginy speakers. On lexicostatistical criteria, the two would be dialects, but on morphological criteria they would almost certainly be considered different languages.

8a.2. PHONEMES

The following is a tentative inventory of Wadyiginy phonemes:

a) Consonants:

p	t	t̥	tʷ	k
m	n	ŋ	nʷ	ŋ
w	r	ɾ	y	
	l	ɭ		

b) Vowels:

i	u
ë	
e	a

8a.3. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

8a.3.1. Noun Phrases

8a.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

As with the other members of this group, unmodified nouns fall into four classes. These classes are indicated by prefixes in the following manner:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 1) Ø- | parts of the body, kinship terms and most natural phenomena. |
| 2) metʔem- | animals hunted for fresh meat. |
| 3) menenʔ- | plants and vegetable foods. |
| 4) wiŋ- | trees, weapons and wooden implements. |

Examples:

miranuk	<i>knee</i>
penget	<i>barramundi</i>
metʔem-karanʔ	<i>meat ant</i>
metʔem-ŋörön	<i>emu</i>
menenʔ-wunmaratʔ	<i>long yam</i>
menenʔ-melunmelun	<i>'cheeky' yam</i>
wiŋ-mele	<i>ironwood</i>
wiŋ-wara	<i>paperbark</i>

The adjective always follows the noun which it modifies and is normally invariable for number, and always invariable for class, in the same way as Pungupungu. Partial or complete reduplication of the adjective may occur if plurality is stressed, but only with the most commonly used adjectives. There is no concord between possessive adjectives and the noun head.

Examples:

	muylnʔ pamalan	<i>big dog</i>
	muylnʔ pörak	<i>small dog</i>
	maŋ ŋulma	<i>heavy stone</i>
	nantö tʔaraku	<i>good horse</i>
But:	nantö parma pamankalan	<i>many big horses</i>

8a.3.1.2. Possessive Phrases

As with Pungupungu and the other members of this subgroup there are no noun classes for possession in Wadyiginy, with the exception of a few kinship terms. The possessive adjective follows the noun which it modifies, normally, although it may also precede the noun head for the

sake of emphasis.

The possessive adjectives in Wadyiginy are always followed by the marker *pötun*, *belonging to*. They are as follows:

<i>my</i>	<i>netʷe</i>
<i>your</i>	<i>kene</i>
<i>his</i>	<i>tʷamuyitʷ</i>
<i>her</i>	<i>tʷanmuyitʷ</i>
<i>our inc.</i>	<i>nerere</i>
<i>our exc.</i>	<i>gere</i>
<i>your pl.</i>	<i>nawara</i>
<i>their</i>	<i>parmuyitʷ</i>
<i>our dl.</i>	<i>ṇaṇka</i>

As will be shown below, there is only one separate dual form, *ṇaṇka*. With other persons, the dual marker *-kanʷi* is suffixed to the normal plural form.

Examples:

<i>netʷe pötun welere</i>	<i>my spear</i>
<i>muyinʷ netʷe pötun</i>	<i>my dog</i>
<i>kene pötun muyinʷ</i>	<i>your dog</i>
<i>netʷe pötun menenʷ</i>	<i>my food</i>

Wadyiginy possessives are almost identical to those already described for Pungupungu, as can be seen from the above. Possession with kinship terms and that involving noun possessors follows the same pattern and will not be unnecessarily repeated here.

8a.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

As with Pungupungu the remaining Wadyiginy noun morphology to be discussed here consists of a series of postpositions, the principal of which being:

- 1) *-un* expresses purpose or desire

Example:

keweletʷ-un kutʷe ne-p-pe
 [urine-for there I-fut.-go]
I am going there to urinate.

- 2) *karaṇ* expresses instrument/agent focus

Example:

netʷe karaṇ ṇan-nene
 [I with I/you-see]
I see you.

3) pene on, in, to

Example:

netʔe rek pene ne-mi
[I camp at I-sit]
I stayed at home.

4) meke from, by

Example:

nerere meke wiŋ yerenʔ-plirine
[we inc. from wood we/them-cut]
We all cut the wood.

8a.4. PRONOUN SUBJECT

In this section normally both the subject and object forms of the pronouns are listed. However, Wadyiginy is unusual in the Daly Family in that it has two sets of object pronouns, both direct and indirect. It is in this area that Wadyiginy is most divergent from Pungupungu. Accordingly the object pronouns will be treated during the description of the verb morphology in the next section. The free form subject pronouns are as follows:

I	netʔe
you	kene
he	tʔamuyitʔ
she	tʔanmuyitʔ
we inc.	ŋarare
we exc.	ŋare
you pl.	nawara
they	parmuyitʔ
we dl. inc.	ŋaŋka
we dl. exc.	ŋarakanʔi
you dl.	nawarakanʔi
they dl.	parmuyitʔkanʔi

As stated above, the dualising suffix -kanʔi is added to the regular plural form to form dual pronouns, except with first person dual inclusive which has a separate form.

8a.5. THE VERB

It is in verb morphology that Wadyiginy differs so radically from Pungupungu. In Pungupungu there are no major formal differences between transitive and intransitive verbs. However, in Wadyiginy the difference is clearly marked in that the transitive verbs operate in a manner

unique in the Daly Family. Wadyiginy verb morphology is best described under three heads, namely

- a) intransitive verbs
- b) transitive verbs with direct object
- c) transitive verbs with indirect object

8a.5.1. Intransitive Verbs

The intransitive verbs in Wadyiginy fall into exactly the same verb classes as they do in Pungupungu, described above. With Pungupungu four verb classes were taken as examples. The same verb classes will be described for Wadyiginy for comparison.

The Wadyiginy intransitive verb phrase has the following formula:

± Verb Stem + Affix Unit (+ Actor ± Tense + Aspect)

As with Pungupungu, all free form intransitive verb stems must be accompanied by an affix unit appropriate to the verb class of which they are members. The nonfuture affix units are di-morphemic while those for future tense are trimorphemic. The morphemes within the affix unit alone may constitute a complete utterance. In Pungupungu all verb types, both transitive and intransitive, function in the same manner. With Wadyiginy, however, the Pungupungu system operates almost identically only with intransitives, as described below, while transitive verbs follow a system not found elsewhere in the Daly Family.

The affix units for the four principal intransitive verb classes are as follows: (Note that only the first, second and third singular and first plural inclusive forms will be listed, as with one regular exception they are identical to the Pungupungu paradigms listed above.)

8a.5.1.1. Class 1: Verbs of Lying

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-yö-(we)	ŋa-pi-yan
<i>you</i>	kenʔi-ye-(we)	nʔa-pi-yan
<i>he</i>	ki-ye-(we)	ye-pi-yan
<i>she</i>	kenʔ-ye-(we)	yenʔ-pi-yan
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋere-ye-(we)	ŋara-pi-yan

As may be seen from the above paradigm, Wadyiginy intransitive affix units are identical to the Pungupungu forms, with the regular exception that the actor morpheme for the second person singular future tense is nʔa- instead of the Pungupungu na-. As with the other members of the Daly Family, the affix unit defines the general field of action, while the free form verb stem itself describes the action performed within the

specified field.

Examples of usage:

mörakara pönetʏ ɲl-yö-we
[yesterday dream I-lie-comp.act.]
I dreamed yesterday.

mörakara ɲl-yö-we
[yesterday I-lie-comp.act.]
I slept yesterday.

Note that completed action marker -we is optional and that the affix unit does not require it as an obligatory element.

8a.5.1.2. Class 2: Verbs of Sitting

	Nonfuture	Future
I	ɲe-mɪ	ɲa-p-mu
you	kenʏe-mɪ	nʏa-p-mu
he	ke-mɪ	ya-p-mu
she	kenʏ-mɪ	yetʏ-mu
we inc.	ɲere-mɪ	ɲara-p-mu

Examples of usage:

mörakara ɲe-mɪ rek pene
[yesterday I-sit camp at]
I stayed at home yesterday.

yinʏmek ɲa-p-mu rek pene
[tomorrow I-fut.-sit camp at]
I shall stay home tomorrow.

8a.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Standing

The verb stems belonging to this verb class normally denote actions usually performed in a standing position. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
I	ɲe-tʏa-(ɲa)	ɲa-pɪ-tʏaɲ
you	kanʏa-tʏa-(ɲa)	nʏa-pɪ-tʏaɲ
he	ka-tʏa-(ɲa)	ya-pɪ-tʏaɲ
she	kanʏ-tʏa-(ɲa)	ya-pɪ-tʏaɲ
we inc.	ɲere-tʏa-(ɲa)	ɲere-pɪ-tʏaɲ

As is the case with Pungupungu, the affix units for this verb class constitute a complete utterance without any accompanying verb stem,

which is the rule throughout the Daly Family.

Examples:

mörakara ɲe-tʰa-ɲa
[*yesterday I-stand-prev.act.*]
I was standing yesterday.

yɪnʸmek nʸa-pl-tʰaŋ
[*tomorrow you-fut.-stand*]
You will stand up tomorrow.

8a.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Motion

Verb stems in this verb class denote actions normally thought of as involving movement from one place to another. The affix units are as follows:

	Nonfuture	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲe-pe	ɲe-p-pe
<i>you</i>	kenʸe-pe	nʸe-p-pe
<i>he</i>	ke-pe	ye-p-pe
<i>she</i>	kenʸ-pe	yetʸ-pe
<i>we inc.</i>	ɲere-pe	ɲere-p-pe

Example:

keweletʸ-uŋ kutʸe ɲe-p-pe
[*urinate-for there I-fut.-go*]
I am going to urinate over there.

From the above paradigms and examples it can be seen that Wadyiginy intransitive verbs follow the exact pattern observed with all Pungupungu verbs, both transitive and intransitive. However, in the next section it will be seen that a completely different system is employed for transitives.

8a.5.2. Transitive Verbs with Direct Object¹

8a.5.2.1. Noun Objects.

It is with transitive verbs which take a direct object, either substantival or pronominal, that Wadyiginy departs most radically from Pungupungu, and indeed from the other members of the Daly Family. In

¹Material collected by the present writer does not allow definitive analysis of the transitive verb phrase in Wadyiginy; it will serve, however, to demonstrate its unique position within the Daly Family in terms of verb morphology.

Wadyiginy all noun direct objects, whether animate or inanimate reappear in pronominal form within the verb phrase. In Pungupungu the pronominal object always occurs suffixed to the affix unit. However in Wadyiginy it is prefixed, the transitive verb phrase having the structure:

VPhr (Trans) = + Subject/Object + Predicate (+ Verb stem + Tense).

Not only are the Wadyiginy forms prefixed rather than suffixed, but also they are phonologically unrelated to the forms used in the Pungupungu dialect. In fact, the subject and pronoun object are fused into a combined or portmanteau morpheme, a feature not found elsewhere within the Daly Family. With noun objects, then, there are four possible forms for each actor, as illustrated in the following examples:

wiŋ yin-pirine
[wood you/it-cut NF]
You cut the wood.

wiŋ nʏan-pirine
[wood you/them-cut NF]
You cut the wood.

wiŋ ye-pira
[wood you/it-cut F]
You will cut the wood.

wiŋ nʏat-pira
[wood you/them-cut F]
You will cut the wood.

Some explanatory notes on the Wadyiginy transitive verb phrase are in order at this point.

a) Subject-Object Portmanteau

The portmanteau morpheme, occupying the initial position in the verb phrase, expresses both the actor and the pronoun direct object. There are four forms which occur with each person according to whether the tense of the verb is future or nonfuture and whether the object is singular or plural. This feature is represented, from the examples cited above, in the following matrix:

	Sing.Obj.	Plur.Obj.
<i>you</i> (NF)	yin-	nʏan-
<i>you</i> (F)	ye-	nʏat-

There is of course a similar matrix of prefixes for all singular, plural and dual actors, giving a possible maximum of thirty two subject-object

morphemes. This pattern, of course, forms an integral part of the personal pronoun object system to be discussed in more detail below. Further examples:

wut yaŋ-paŋka pölö
[ground I/him-bury NF old man]
I buried the old man.

metʏem yaŋ-tʏinʏene
[meat I/it-eat NF]
I ate the meat.

(In the last example, note the morphophonemic change ŋ to n before tʏ.)

mörakmala yaŋ-a winʏinʏkinʏ
[make I/it-NF boomerang]
I made the boomerang.

Note also that occasionally a free form verb stem is used, instead of the normal bound form, as in the last example, where the stem mörakmala, *to make*, occurs before what in other languages in the Daly Family has been called the 'affix unit'. In this case, the 'affix unit' consists solely of the subject/object portmanteau plus the tense marker -a.

b) The Verb Stem

The second element within the verb phrase with Wadyiginy transitive verbs is normally the verb stem. The verb stem undergoes a change in form according to whether the basic tense of the verb is future or non-future.

Examples:

wik waŋ-tʏinʏene
[water I/it-drink NF]
I drank the water.

(Note that waŋ- rather than yaŋ- is used with an inanimate referent such as wik *water*.)

wik waŋ-pitʏi
[water I/it-drink F]
I shall drink the water.

wiŋ yaŋ-pirine
[wood I/it-cut NF]
I cut the wood.

wiŋ ŋat-pira
[wood I/them-cut F]
I shall cut the wood.

From the above examples it will be seen that *drink* has two forms *tʷinʷene* (nonfuture) and *pitʷi* (future) as does *cut* with *pirine* and *pira*. It is possible to divide the verb stem into verb stem and tense marker. However, the pattern is by no means regular and the present writer prefers to consider the verb stem and tense marker as inseparable and fused. All Wadyiginy transitive verb stems, then, would have two forms, future and nonfuture. These remarks do not apply, naturally, to the cases in which the verb stem occurs as a free form. Further depth study may well reveal a regular pattern underlying future/nonfuture changes in the verb stem.

8a.5.2.2. Pronoun Objects

As was indicated above, personal pronoun objects occur in a portman-teau morpheme prefixed to the verb stem. There are normally two forms for each relationship expressed, for example: *ŋan-* *I-them* (nonfuture) and *ŋat-* *I-them* (future). The nonfuture form is often characterised by a final -n, while the future form normally takes -t. There are, however, several exceptions to this rule noted by the present writer. As a specimen, the table of forms for singular actors in the nonfuture tense is given below as follows:

Table of Subject/Object Forms

	<i>Me</i>	<i>You</i>	<i>Him</i>	<i>Her</i>	<i>Us(inc)</i>	<i>Us(exc)</i>	<i>You(pl)</i>	<i>Them</i>	<i>Us(dl)</i>
<i>I</i>	-	ŋen	yaŋ	yaŋanʷ	-	-	nʷen	ŋan	-
<i>you</i>	nʷen	-	yin	kenʷtʷe	-	nʷatpe	-	nʷan	-
<i>he</i>	ŋan	kanʷa	ke	kenʷ	ŋarinpe	ŋatpe	nanpe	kanpe	ŋaŋkanpe

Examples:

mörakara ŋen-nene
[yesterday I/you-see NF]
I saw you yesterday.

mörakara yaŋ-nene
[yesterday I/him-see NF]
I saw him yesterday.

mörakara yaŋanʷ-nene
[yesterday I/her-see NF]
I saw her yesterday.

mörakara nʷen-nene
[yesterday you/me-see NF]
You saw me yesterday.

The table of subject/object pronominal forms presents certain problems, since, while certain regularities appear, there is a high degree of irregularity. It will have been observed that the table contains several homophonous forms, for example: *nʔen-*, which expresses the relationship *I/you* plural and *you* sg./me. The same applies to *nan-*, which expresses *I/them* and *he/me*. These and other forms would suggest that the Wadyiginy system might use homophonous portmanteau morphemes to indicate the following relationships:

1. 1st person exc. actor/all pronoun objects and vice versa.
2. 1st person inc. actor/all pronoun objects and vice versa.
3. 2nd person actor/all pronoun objects and vice versa.
4. 3rd person actor/all pronoun objects and vice versa.

Other such morphemes elicited by the present writer would tend to support this hypothesis, such as:

<i>nan-</i>	<i>he/me</i>
<i>nanpe-</i>	<i>they/me</i>

In this case it would appear that *nan-* indicates a relationship third person singular actor/first person singular exclusive object and vice versa, while the addition of *-pe-* would transform this into a third person plural actor/first person singular object relationship. Other examples from the total subject/object portmanteau inventory would support such an analysis in many cases. If this system could be shown to operate throughout, then Wadyiginy would be seen to be endowed with a most economical subject/object indication system. This still leaves the problem of homophony, however, since the obvious question is how do we determine which is the actor and which the object in such cases. While *nan-* indicates *he/me*, it also indicates *I/them*, as shown above. No apparent confusion appears to result, as context supplies the necessary supplementary information in such cases.

However, while such an economical system appears inherent in many of the subject/object forms elicited, there appear to be as many irregularities as regularities in the forms collected, from which all notion of reciprocity appears to be lacking, as in the following:

<i>nen-</i>	<i>I/you</i>	vs.	<i>nʔen-</i>	<i>you/me</i>
<i>yaŋ-</i>	<i>I/him</i>	vs.	<i>nan-</i>	<i>he/me</i>

In approximately half of the cases recorded, some reciprocal principal appears to operate, but for the remainder, examples of which have just been listed above, a separate portmanteau morpheme is required to express each subject/object relationship. The problem of irregularity of system in Wadyiginy transitive verb morphology is not surprising, however, when

one considers the irregularities in verb morphology in the languages of the Daly Family as a whole. The intricate Wadyiginy subject/object indication system obviously requires further detailed examination; it is hoped that the depth study currently being undertaken by Hoddinott will elucidate some of the problems raised in this section of the Wadyiginy grammar outline. It should be noted that with transitive verbs in Wadyiginy and Batyamal the rather complex verb class systems, based on action types, noted for all the other member languages of this Family, are dropped, there being only a single class for all transitives.

The existence of the portmanteau morpheme to express all subject/object relationships in Wadyiginy and its total absence from the Pungupungu dialect raise certain problems, not the least of which is the question of the mutual intelligibility of these two dialects. (Batyamal is almost identical, structurally to Wadyiginy, see below.) It had been reported that Pungupungu, so close to Wadyiginy in all other respects except in the area of transitive verbs, was once used as a trade language within the Daly River area. Possibly it too once had the same transitive/intransitive distinction described for Wadyiginy, the distinction being eroded by the exigencies of being a trade language in an area in which no other member of the language family under discussion observes the same type of distinction. Since most of the languages within the area are declining, it is unlikely that a more definite solution will become available.

8a.5.3. The Indirect Object

With Wadyiginy verbs which are 'basically intransitive', but may take an indirect object, such as *to say, tell, call out*, a separate set of object pronouns is used. These are as follows:

<i>me</i>	-ḡarka
<i>you</i>	-wīḡ
<i>him</i>	-nuḡ
<i>her</i>	-ḡetʷeḡ
<i>us inc.</i>	-ḡararaḡ
<i>us exc.</i>	-ḡaraḡ
<i>you pl.</i>	-nawaraḡ
<i>them</i>	-pōraḡ
<i>us dl.inc.</i>	-ḡaḡkuḡ
<i>us dl.exc.</i>	-ḡaraḡkanʷi
<i>you dl.</i>	-nawaraḡkanʷi
<i>them dl.</i>	-pōraḡkanʷi

These forms are identical to those already described for Pungupungu and as with Pungupungu occur suffixed to the intransitive affix unit, as described in 8a.5.1.

Examples:

ke-me-ŋarka
[he-say-me]
He told me. (He said to me.)

ke-me-wiŋ
[he-say-you]
He told you.

ke-me-nuŋ
[he-say-him]
He told him.

ŋe-me-nuŋ
[I-say-him]
I told him.

With Pungupungu all verbs both 'transitive' and 'intransitive' follow the above system, while as has been shown it is restricted to verbs which are basically intransitive in Wadyiginy. Indirect objects with 'transitive' verbs in Wadyiginy are treated simply as direct objects, as for example in a sentence like *I gave the money to him*, which is *maŋ yaŋawene*, literally *money I/him give*.

8a.5.4. Negation

The negative in Wadyiginy is indicated by the negative marker *nakulö* which occurs normally immediately before the verb phrase. It may, however, precede the noun subject or object.

Examples of usage:

nakulö maka ka-wukpitŋa
[not from he-call out]
He did not call out.

nakulö yaŋ-tura metŋem
[not I/it-cook meat]
I did not cook the meat.

Note that *maka*, *from* may follow *nakulö* to form a more emphatic negative.

8a.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other Wadyiginy word classes include numerals, adverbs of time and manner, directionals and interrogatives.

8a.6.1. Numerals

The numerals are practically identical to those listed for Pungu-pungu, and follow the normal Daly pattern. They are as follows:

1. *ḡantʷitʷ*
2. *parkatamaḡ*
3. *parkataḡantʷitʷ*
4. *parkatamaḡ parkatamaḡ*
5. *paraḡantʷitʷ*

The numeral always follows the noun which it modifies, as in the following examples:

<i>maḡ ḡantʷitʷ</i>	<i>one stone</i>
<i>maḡ parkatamaḡ</i>	<i>two stones</i>

8a.6.2. Interrogatives

The interrogatives of Wadyiginy are as follows:

<i>naka?</i>	<i>who?</i>
<i>enikine?</i>	<i>when?</i>
<i>nʷinitʷ?</i>	<i>what?</i>
<i>nʷinitʷuḡ?</i>	<i>why?</i>
<i>nʷinitʷmönuḡ?</i>	<i>why?</i>
<i>tʷina?</i>	<i>where?</i>

Interrogatives normally occur sentence initially, as in the following examples:

nʷinitʷ-uḡ kanka-pömene?
[what-for you pl/him-hit]
Why did you hit him?

nʷinitʷ-mö-nuḡ nʷet-pömene?
[what-state-for they/us-hit]
Why were they hitting us?

Note that there are two forms to express *why?*, *nʷinitʷuḡ* and *nʷinitʷmönuḡ*. The former is used with any tense, while the latter is used mainly when the action of the verb is continuous.

8a.6.3. Adverbs

The most common adverbs express time, manner and direction. The Wadyiginy adverbs are almost identical to those listed above for Pungu-pungu. The most frequently used time adverbs are:

yinymek	tomorrow
mörakara	yesterday
yaŋaraŋ	today, now
ŋuratya	night-time

Examples:

yinymek ŋat-pira wiŋ
[tomorrow I/them-cut wood]
I shall cut the logs tomorrow.

mörakara pönetʷ ŋl-yö-we
[yesterday dream I-lie-CA]
I dreamed yesterday.

tylik ŋe-me yaŋaraŋ
[sick I-say today]
I am sick today.

Two frequently used directionals are para and kutʷe. The former indicates movement towards the place actually occupied by the speaker or speakers, while the latter indicates movement away from the place actually occupied by them.

Examples:

kayik kanya-katʷaŋ para
[sun she-come out back]
The sun is coming out.

keweletʷ-uŋ kutʷe ŋe-p-pe
[urinate-for there I-fut-go]
I am going to urinate.

8a.7. WORD ORDER

The most usual Wadyiginy word order may be summarised in the following formula:

± T ± L ± S ± IO ± VS + AU ± Inst. ± L ± T

The above formula is valid for sentences containing a 'non-transitive' verb, and may be interpreted as follows:

Time and location tagmemes normally occur sentence initially, followed by any noun subject, or indirect object. These in turn are followed

by the nucleus of the sentence, the optional free form verb stem plus obligatory affix unit. These may also be followed by additional time, location and instrument/agent tagmemes, although the instrument may equally well precede the verb stem and affix unit.

With sentences containing a transitive verb, the formula changes slightly as follows:

$\pm T \pm L \pm S \pm DO(n) \pm IO(n) \pm VPhr (+ S/O + VS) \pm Inst. \pm T \pm L$

In this case, the ordering of the non-nuclear tagmemes is the same as for sentences containing intransitive verbs. The major difference is that with a few minor exceptions, noted above, there is no affix unit, the verb phrase containing an obligatory subject/object portmanteau followed by the verb stem. With transitive verbs affixes are prefixed to the verb, while with intransitives they occur in an independent affix unit suffixed or in postposition to the verb stem where it is a free form.

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8b. BATYAMAL

Batyamal is a sub-dialect of Wadyiginy, just described above. It has approximately twenty surviving speakers, most of whom reside at the Delissaville Settlement near Darwin. The name Batyamal has not previously appeared in linguistic literature.

It has been termed a 'sub-dialect' rather than a dialect since it shares 90% common cognates with Wadyiginy. Pungupungu, on the other hand, although still a dialect, shares only 79%. As was demonstrated above, Pungupungu totally lacks some of the important morphological features found in Wadyiginy. It is suspected that the two 'sub-dialects', Wadyiginy and Batyamal, may correspond to two lines within the same clan or tribe, a theory put forward also for the 'sub-dialects' which exist within the Brinken Sub-group.

For all practical purposes, then, Wadyiginy and Batyamal may be taken as synonymous terms. For this reason, Batyamal morphology is not discussed in this study. A comparative word-list is, however, to be found in the appropriate section.

9. NGANGIKURRUNGGURR

9.1. GENERAL

Ngangikurrunggurr has been known by a variety of names since the beginning of this century. It is best known as Moil, although this term is in fact geographical; Moil is a Marengar word meaning *swamp*. More recently it has become known as Ngangikurrunggurr, variants of which are Ngangikurongor, Ngangikarangurr and Ngangikurrungur. It is also known within the Daly area as Tyemerl or Marityemerl.

The Ngangikurrunggurr language is the largest within the Daly Family, having in excess of one hundred speakers, the majority of whom would be children. Its traditional home lies somewhere south-east of Port Keats, according to Capell (1963: Area N, 16). Ngangikurrunggurr speakers corroborate this position, adding that they lived formerly near the Moyle River, from which they derive one of their names. At the present time the great majority of Ngangikurrunggurr speakers live at or near the Daly River Mission, although speakers are also to be found in the various settlements and camps between the Daly River and Darwin.

In the Capell *Survey* (1963), Ngangikurrunggurr was numbered N60, while in the more recent Oates *Revised Survey* (1970) it was classified as 52Nr.

As far as previously published material on Nangikurrunggurr is concerned, nothing apart from a short wordlist and notes on the concord system has appeared to this time (Tryon 1968 and 1970a). However, the group has been the subject of anthropological studies, chiefly by Stanner (1933), one of the few anthropologists to have devoted much time to the study of the Ngangikurrunggurr. Hoddinott is at present undertaking a depth study of the language, the results of which should be forthcoming in the near future. The Summer Institute of Linguistics is also reported to be interested in Ngangikurrunggurr with the aim of fostering literacy in the vernacular and ultimate Bible translation.

Ngangikurrunggurr, then, is a multiple-classifying language which belongs to the Daly Family. Within the Family it is a member of the Tymeri Group. It has one other dialect, namely Ngengomeri, which will be treated separately below. The Tymeri Group is rather different from the other Groups within the Family, both lexico-statistically and typologically, although still obviously a member of the Family. In terms of percentages of shared cognates, based on a two hundred word list, the difference between Ngangikurrunggurr/Ngengomeri and the other members of the Daly Family will readily be appreciated when one considers the following table:

	Ngangik.	Ngengomeri	Marithiel	Marengar	M'andji
Ngangik.	-	84%	32%	35%	32%
Ngengomeri	84%	-	33%	35%	34%
Marithiel	32%	33%	-	68%	
Marengar	35%	35%	68%	-	54%
Maramandandji	32%	34%	63%	54%	-

The percentage of cognates shared between Ngangikurrunggurr and the other subgroups, the Wogaity, Mulluk and Daly subgroups, see above, is of much the same order, never higher than 32%. However, while the degree of difference between Ngangikurrunggurr and the other members of the Family is high from a lexical viewpoint, on the morphological level the differences are not so considerable, although it must be stated at the outset that they are significant from a comparative point of view.

9.2. PHONEMES

A tentative listing of the phonemes of Ngangikurrunggurr is as follows:

a) Consonants

p	t	tʏ	k
(b)	(d)		(g)
(β)	(s)		(x)
m	n	nʏ	ŋ
w	l	lʏ	
	r	y	
	R		

b) Vowels

i	u
e	a

There appears to be no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in spite of the existence of such minimal pairs as [depɪ],

head, and [debi], *thigh*. Such minimal pairs have been found with other members of the Daly Family. However, an examination of the morphology and morphophonemic rules for each language have led to the conclusion that the voiceless stop, where it occurs intervocalically, should be interpreted as geminate, giving /tepi/, *thigh* and /teppi/, *head*. Similar problems have been encountered in other languages in Arnhem Land, such as Burera, spoken at Maningrida, and the same solution offered by other writers. In fact, the problem must not be magnified out of proportion, as the distribution of the voiced and voiceless allophones of stops is in general clearly definable. Hoddinott, however, is of the opinion that there may exist a phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops, at least in word-initial position (personal communication January 1973). /tʲ/, with allophones [tʲ - dʲ] is sometimes realised as [ʃ - ʒ]. This latter realisation prompts Hoddinott to suggest the existence of /s/. Hoddinott also considers that a bilabial fricative phoneme may well have to be added to the phonemic inventory, citing the subminimal pairs [pebi] and [pepi]. The present writer has observed a certain amount of free variation between bilabial stops and fricatives, although his material does not allow him to set up definite and separate bilabial stop and fricative phonemes. The depth study undertaken by Hoddinott will doubtless contribute substantially to the solution of the problems in Ngangikurrunggurr phonology encountered by the present writer, hampered by a corpus which is not sufficiently extensive to allow a more definite opinion. /r/ represents a continuant while /R/ is trilled.

9.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

9.3.1. Noun Phrases

9.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

As was stated above, Ngangikurrunggurr is a multiple-classifying language. Unmodified nouns fall into eight classes, more than any other member of the Daly Family. Each class is indicated by a prefix to the noun head. The prefixes and corresponding classes are as follows:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1. Ø- | with most natural objects, kinship terms and some parts of the body. |
| 2. de- | with most parts of the body. |
| 3. a- | with most animals hunted for meat. |
| 4. mi- | with edible plants, vegetables and grasses. |
| 5. yer- | with trees and most wooden implements. |

- | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|
| 6. wa- | with male animates, excluding dogs. |
| 7. wur- | with female animates. |
| 8. wu- | with canines. |

Examples:

yengi	<i>fire</i>
kuri	<i>water</i>
de-pi	<i>head</i>
de-dIR	<i>tooth</i>
a-matyi	<i>red kangaroo</i>
a-puŋi	<i>mosquito</i>
mi-piyakenʸ	<i>'cheeky' yam</i>
yer-tʸiŋe	<i>pandanus species</i>
yer-den	<i>coolibah</i>
wa-tʸetʸir	<i>cheeky man</i>
wa-buymem	<i>ghost</i>
wur-kunixuni	<i>old woman</i>
wu-piRIRi	<i>dingo</i>

Nouns are normally invariable for singular and plural. However, the prefix *awa-* has been observed to indicate plurality with humans, as in:

awa-paimi	<i>women</i>
awa-yedi	<i>men</i>

When an adjective modifies a noun head, the adjective follows the noun and shows concord with it for class, as in the following examples:

yengi kere	<i>big fire</i>
nendu kere	<i>big horse</i>
de-pi kere	<i>big head</i>
a-wangi a-kere	<i>big crow</i>
mi-muy mi-kere	<i>big yam</i>
mi-yi mi-kere	<i>big food</i>
yer-den yer-kere	<i>big coolibah</i>
yer-paku yer-kere	<i>big bloodwood</i>
yedi wa-kere	<i>big man</i>
wuwu wu-kere	<i>big dog</i>
paimi wur-kere	<i>big woman</i>
yawui aii-kere	<i>big spear</i>

With adjectives, it will be noted that the unmodified noun classes 1 and 2, denoted by prefixes *Ø-* and *de-*, merge into a single class. For this reason it is perhaps preferable to consider the *de-* class as simply a sub-class of Class 1. It will be observed also that with adjectives a

new class has been added, namely *ali-* with hunting weapons. With minor exceptions, adjectives are invariable for number, although partial or complete reduplication may occur when plurality is stressed.

With possessive adjectives there are six classes, indicated by prefixes as follows:

wembem <i>ŋayi</i>	<i>my house</i>
wuwu <i>wu-ŋayi</i>	<i>my dog</i>
depl <i>yer-ŋayi</i>	<i>my thigh</i>
yewir <i>yer-ŋayi</i>	<i>my tree</i>
yawul <i>ali-ŋayi</i>	<i>my spear</i>
mi-yi <i>mi-ŋayi</i>	<i>my food</i>
a-matvi <i>a-ŋayi</i>	<i>my kangaroo</i>
palmi <i>ŋayi</i>	<i>my wife</i>
yedi <i>ŋayi</i>	<i>my husband</i>

With possessive adjectives, it will be observed that unmodified noun classes 1, 6 and 7 merge into a single class which remains unmarked. It is noteworthy, too, that the unmodified noun class 2, indicated by *de-* takes the same marker, *yer-*, as trees, when modified by a possessive adjective. The Ngangikurrungurr concord system is summarised in the following table to facilitate comparison with other languages of the Daly Family:

Noun (unmodified)	Noun + Poss Adjective	Noun + Adjective
Ø- ----->	Ø- ----->	Ø- ----->
de- ----->	ali- ----->	ali- ----->
yer- ----->	yer- ----->	Ø- ----->
a- ----->	yer- ----->	yer- ----->
mi- ----->	a- ----->	a- ----->
wa- ----->	mi- ----->	mi- ----->
wur- ----->	Ø- ----->	wa- ----->
wu- ----->	Ø- ----->	wur- ----->
	wu- ----->	wu- ----->

With unmodified nouns and nouns modified by an adjective, then, the number of noun classes in Ngangikurrungurr is eight. With possessive adjectives the number is reduced to six.

With possessive adjectives, as the examples above show, the possessive adjective follows the noun to which it refers and exhibits class concord. The forms of the possessive adjectives are the same as the free form pronouns, as follows:

<i>ŋayi</i>	<i>my</i>
<i>nʷinʷi</i>	<i>your sg.</i>

nem	his
ḡayim	her
nayinlme	our pl.inc.
ḡaxuR	our pl.exc.
naxuR	your pl.
wiRim	their
nayin	our dl.inc.
ḡaxaRl	our dl.exc.
naxaRl	your dl.
wiRike	their dl.

When a noun is modified by both an adjective and a possessive adjective, the adjective precedes the possessive. If the possessive should precede the adjective, a stative sentence of the type *my dog is good* is formed. Examples of usage:

wembem kere ḡayl	<i>my big house</i>
yawul ali-kere ali-ḡayl	<i>my big spear</i>

9.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

Apart from adjectives and possessives, postpositions play an important role as adjuncts to nouns. The most frequently used postpositions in Ngangikurrungurr are as follows:

1) ḡingl *by/with*, instrumental marker

Examples:

a-matyi	ḡa-rim-pawal	yawul	ḡingl
[kangaroo	I-hand-kill	spear	with]
<i>I killed the kangaroo with a spear.</i>			

nem	ḡingl	wa-kere	wu-pun-Ø-ta	wuwu	wu-weti
[he	by	m./big	he-hurt-him-hit	dog	cl./small]
<i>The small dog was killed by the big man.</i>					

2) ḡini *for, in order that*

Example:

nem	wa-kere	yewir	wu-pun-Ø-pal	yengl	ḡini
[he	m./big	tree	he-hurt-it-cut	wood	for]
<i>The big man cut down the tree for the wood.</i>					

It should be observed that ḡini is also used as a future tense auxiliary.

3) nimbi from

Example:

ne-men-ketet weri nimbi
[I-motion-come hole from]
I came out of the hole.

4) nide at, in, on

Example:

wa-wetl ye-nim-pap pepi nide
[m.small he-sit-climb stone on]
The child is getting up on the rock.

9.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

In Ngangikurrunggurr there are two full series of object pronouns and one partial series. The complete series denote pronoun subject and direct object, while the partial series denotes indirect object, but only for singular objects. With plural and dual indirect objects, the forms used are the same as for direct object, as in the following table:

	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
I	ɲayi	-ɲi-	-ɲindi-
you	nɲinɲi	-nɲi-	-mbi-
he	nem	-ø-	-ne-
she	ɲayim	-ø-	-ɲe-
we inc.	nayinime	-nin...nime	-nin...nime
we exc.	ɲaxuR	-ɲiR-	-ɲiR-
you pl.	naxuR	-tiR-	-tiR-
they	wiRim	-piR-	-piR-
we dl.inc.	nayin	-nin-	-nin-
we dl.exc.	ɲaxaRi	-ɲiR-ki-	-ɲiR-ki-
you dl.	naxaRi	-tiR-ki-	-tiR-ki-
they dl.	wiRike	-piR-ki-	-piR-ki-

The usage of the pronouns, especially the object pronouns, will be treated below, during the discussion of the verb morphology proper. It will be noted, however, that the dual forms of the pronouns are directly derivable from the plural forms, with minor exceptions. The fact that the base form for the first person plural and dual inclusive is the same is rather exceptional in the Daly Family, where normally two completely different forms are found. Among the other members of this language Family this sameness of form is found elsewhere only within the Brinken sub-group.

9.5. THE VERB

9.5.1. Verb Classes

In Ngangikurrunggurr, as with all of the other members of the Daly Family, there are numerous verb classes. The basis for division of verb stems into different classes appears to be much the same as for the other Groups, although there are some significant differences in points of detail. As might be expected, the verb classes are constituted on the basis of the type of action denoted by the verb stem. For example, actions normally thought of as being carried out in a sitting position would be conveyed by verb stems all belonging to the same class, each class having its own sets of affixes to indicate actor, tense, general type of action etc. The principal verb classes observed for Ngangikurrunggurr are as follows:

1. Actions performed lying down.
2. Verbs of sitting.
3. Verbs of motion.
4. Verbs of projection.
5. Verbs of destroying.
6. Verbs of standing.

The above list represents only a sample of all Ngangikurrunggurr verb classes. The total number would be approximately twenty five, as in Maranunggu and other member languages of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. Since Hoddinott will be presenting a full account of Ngangikurrunggurr in his depth study of this language in the near future, only a sample verb morphology will be given here, sufficient, however, for comparative purposes.

The Ngangikurrunggurr verb phrase may be summed up in the following formula:

VPhr = + Actor + Action Type/Tense ± Verb Stem ± Tense Auxiliary

The verb phrase then consists of several morphemes; the first always indicates the number and person of the actor; this is followed by a morpheme which indicates the general field of action, for example sitting, standing, or lying, within which the particular action denoted by the verb stem is performed. This morpheme varies according to tense. Finally come the verb stem and tense auxiliaries. The following sample paradigms will illustrate the morphology and *modus operandi* of Ngangikurrunggurr verbs.

9.5.1.1. Class 1: Actions performed sitting down

	Past	Continuous	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-ni-X-(tʏe)	ŋi-rim-(kana)	ŋl-wi-X-(ŋini)
<i>you</i>	yi-ni-X-(tʏe)	yi-rim	yl-wi-X-(ŋini)
<i>he</i>	di-ni-X-(tʏe)	ki-rim	wi-ri-X-(ŋini)
<i>we inc.</i>	ŋindi-ni-X-nime-(tʏe)	ŋindim-nime	ŋimbi-X-(ŋini)
<i>we exc.</i>	ŋin-ni-X-(tʏe)	ŋi-Rim	ŋi-Ri-X-(ŋini)
<i>you pl.</i>	yin-ni-X-(tʏe)	yl-Rim	yi-Ri-X-(ŋini)
<i>they</i>	win-ni-X-(tʏe)	wi-Rim	wi-Ri-X-(ŋini)
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	ŋindi-ni-X-(tʏe)	ŋindim	ŋimbi-X-(ŋini)
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	ŋin-ne-X-(tʏe)	ŋi-Ruŋ-gu	ŋi-Ri-gu-X-(ŋini)
<i>you dl.</i>	yin-ne-X-(tʏe)	yi-Ruŋ-gu	yi-Ri-gu-X-(ŋini)
<i>they dl.</i>	win-ne-X-(tʏe)	wi-Ruŋ-gu	wi-Ri-gu-X-(ŋini)

Examples:

kultʏi nimbi ŋi-ni-tʏe
 [yesterday I-sit-past aux.]
 I sat down yesterday.

miyi ŋi-ni-laliR-tʏe kultʏi nimbi
 [food I-sit-eat-aux. yesterday.]
 I ate the food yesterday.

ŋi-ni-madiwiri-tʏe kultʏi nimbi
 [I-sit-laugh-past aux. yesterday]
 I laughed yesterday.

In the paradigms set out above, X represents any verb stem which belongs to this particular verb class. There appear to be three basic tense distinctions in Ngangikurrunggurr, past, present and future, each represented here by a separate paradigm. As stated above, the first morpheme indicates the actor. In this language, unlike the member languages of the other Groups within the Daly Family, with minor exceptions, there is uniformity of the actor morpheme across tenses within the same verb class. Thus ŋi- translates *I* in all three tenses presented here. However, the second morpheme, which indicates the general field of action/tense, varies with each tense and verb class, as has been shown to be the norm throughout the Family. Thus general sitting actions are indicated by -ni-, -rim, and -wi-.

Although the verb phrase has been represented as a single unit consisting of a maximum of four morphemes, it would perhaps be more accurate to describe it as follows:

VPhr = + Affix Unit ± Verb Stem ± Auxiliary

This position is arrived at by considering the two following points: first, the affix unit alone may constitute a complete and meaningful utterance, as in the sentence ɲi-ni-(tʰe), *I sat down*. The verb stem, then, may be omitted without rendering the verb phrase incomplete. While this is true of verb classes whose meaning is basically intransitive, such as verbs of sitting, standing, lying, with basically transitive verb classes a verb stem is almost always required for the verb phrase to be complete. This point will be illustrated below, during the discussion of other verb classes. The second point to be considered, however, is that the verb stem may either immediately follow the affix unit just posited, as in the second example given: ɲi-ni-!a!iR-tʰe, *I ate, while in a sitting position*, or may sometimes precede the affix unit, as in a sentence such as !a!iR ɲi-ni-tʰe, which has exactly the same meaning as the previous example. The position of the tense auxiliaries (tʰe, past and ɲiɲi, future) is flexible. They may be suffixed to the affix unit itself, as illustrated above; or they may be attached to the verb stem when this precedes the affix unit; the tense auxiliary may even be suffixed to the negative marker, which occurs sometimes sentence initially, in negative sentences. Even with some verb classes which are basically transitive, such as a class including cutting actions, for example, the obligatory verb stem may either precede or follow the affix unit set up. This feature is common throughout the Daly Family, as an inspection of the verb phrase in the other languages described above will show. In fact, it is this feature, in addition to the use of a general and a particular verb for any single verb phrase which marks off the Daly Family from its neighbours. Two types of verb phrase should, therefore be distinguished for Ngangkurrunggurr, as follows:

1. Basically Transitive: [+ Actor + Action Type/Tense + VS ± Aux.]
OR (occasionally)
+ VS [+ Actor + Action Type/Tense ± Aux.]
2. Basically Intransitive: [+ Actor + Action Type/Tense ± VS ± Aux.]
OR
± VS [+ Actor + Action Type/Tense ± Aux.]

If the concept of the 'affix unit' is accepted, these would be rewritten more simply as:

1. Transitive: + Affix Unit + Verb Stem ± Auxilliary
OR (occasionally)
+ Verb Stem + Affix Unit ± Auxilliary

2. Intransitive:
- + Affix Unit ± Verb Stem ± Auxiliary
- OR
- ± Verb Stem + Affix Unit ± Auxiliary

Within this grammatical outline, then, verb stems, mostly intransitive, which precede the 'affix unit' will be considered free forms and written separately, while, as with most other Daly Family languages, verb stems following the 'affix unit' will be written as bound forms, since many of the stems, especially transitives, do not occur as free forms and may not precede the 'affix unit'. Hoddinott's forthcoming depth-study will bring more precision to the problems of verb morphology discussed above.

It will have been observed that with dual actors, the dualising suffix -gu is added to the affix unit in the future and present continuous tenses to distinguish dual from plural. In the past tense, the distinction is often maintained by a change in vowel within the type of action morpheme. This point will be elaborated upon below, in the section which presents a summary matrix of morphemes used in verb phrases.

Remarks made about the morphology of this first verb class apply to all other Ngangikurrunggurr verb classes, as the paradigms will show.

9.5.1.2. Class 2: Actions performed lying down

	Past	Continuous	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-ŋe-X-tʏe	ŋi-bem	ŋi-m-X-ŋini
<i>you</i>	yi-ŋe-X-tʏe	yi-bem	yi-m-X-ŋini
<i>he</i>	wi-ŋe-X-tʏe	wu-bem	wi-m-X-ŋini
<i>we</i> inc.	ŋimbi-ŋe-X-nime-tʏe	ŋimbi-bem-nime	ŋimbi-m-X-nime-ŋini
<i>we</i> exc.	ŋeR-tʏini-X-tʏe	ŋeR-tʏem	ŋeR-tʏe-X-ŋini
<i>you</i> dl.	yeR-tʏini-X-tʏe	yeR-tʏem	yeR-tʏe-X-ŋini
<i>they</i>	weR-tʏini-X-ŋini	weR-tʏem	weR-tʏe-X-ŋini
<i>we</i> dl.inc.	ŋimbi-ŋe-X-tʏe	ŋimbi-bem	ŋimbi-m-X-ŋini
<i>we</i> dl.exc.	ŋeR-tʏina-X-tʏe	ŋeR-tʏeŋ-gu	ŋeR-tʏe-gu-X-ŋini
<i>you</i> dl.	yeR-tʏina-X-tʏe	yeR-tʏeŋ-gu	yeR-tʏe-gu-X-ŋini
<i>they</i> dl.	weR-tʏina-X-tʏe	weR-tʏeŋ-gu	weR-tʏe-gu-X-ŋini

The affix units listed above, for this verb class, are used with verb stems which denote actions thought of as usually being performed in a lying position. Examples of usage:

nem wunl ɲiRɲiR wi-ge-tʃe kuitʃi nimbi
[he there sleep he-lie-past yesterday]
He slept there yesterday.

ɲiRɲiR weR-tʲe-ɲini ɲunʲananiŋgi
 [sleep they-lie-fut. tomorrow]
They will sleep tomorrow.

kultʲi nimbi ɲiRɲiR ɲi-ɲe-tʲe
 [yesterday sleep I-lie-past]
I slept yesterday.

Other Verb Classes

With the remaining verb classes described in this section, affix units will be listed for singular actors only in the past and future tense.

9.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Motion

This verb class includes verb stems which denote actions involving motion from place to place, such as going, swimming, walking etc. The forms for the singular are as follows:

	Past	Continuous	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲa-xadi-X-tʲe	ɲa-xanim	ɲa-ni-X-ɲini
<i>you</i>	ya-xadi-X-tʲe	ya-xanim	ya-ni-X-ɲini
<i>he</i>	ye-di-X-tʲe	ye-nim	wa-ni-X-ɲini

Examples:

ɲunʲananiŋgi nayin kaxu ɲamba-ni-ɲini
 [tomorrow we two meat we-go-fut.]
We two inclusive will go hunting tomorrow.

yiba yewir ɲa-ni-pap-ɲini
 [later tree I-go-climb-fut.]
I shall climb the tree later.

ɲunʲananiŋgi yedi tʲutʲur waRa-ni-ɲini
 [tomorrow man swim they-go-fut.]
The boys will have a swim tomorrow.

9.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of General Action

This verb class includes stems denoting physical action within a rather undefined semantic field. The paradigm of forms is as follows:

	Past	Continuous	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲu-dini-X-tʲe	ɲu-dupun	ɲu-du-X-ɲini
<i>you</i>	yu-dini-X-tʲe	yu-dupun	yu-du-X-ɲini
<i>he</i>	wu-dini-X-tʲe	wu-dupun	wu-du-X-ɲini

Examples:

ɲayi mutʷuŋ kuitʷi ɲu-dini-pitʷi-tʷe
 [I swag yesterday I-action-roll-past aux.]
 I rolled up my swag yesterday.

wu-dini-dudu-tʷe yawul
 [he-action-try-past aux. spear]
 He tried out his spear.

ɲu-dupun-bul kaxu
 [I-action-cook meat]
 I am cooking the meat.

9.5.1.5. Class 5: Verbs of Seeking

As the heading implies, verb stem members of this class often denote seeking actions. The paradigm for singular actors is as follows:

	Past	Continuous	Future
I	ɲu-ni-X-tʷe	ɲu-pun	ɲu-Ø-X-ɲini
you	yu-ni-X-tʷe	yu-pun	yu-Ø-X-ɲini
he	wu-ni-X-tʷe	wu-pun	wu-Ø-X-ɲini

Examples:

ɲunʷananɲi nandu ɲu-pipili-ɲini
 [tomorrow horse I-look for-fut.]
 I shall look for the horse tomorrow.

kuitʷi nimbi nandu ɲu-ni-pipili-tʷe ɲa-xadi
 [yesterday horse I-see-look for-past I-go]
 I went looking for the horse yesterday.

Note that with this verb class the 'type of action' morpheme is Ø- in the future tense.

9.5.1.6. Class 6: Verbs of Seeing

Within the Daly Family, verbs of seeing are usually subject to more irregularity in verb morphology than other verb classes. Ngangikurrungurr is no exception. In the verb classes outlined so far, within the affix unit the morpheme ordering has been constant, namely: + Actor + Action Type ± Verb Stem. However, with this particular class, the type of action morpheme follows the verb stem, which is always bound. The paradigm of forms is as follows:

	Past	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-nʏi-ngin	ŋi-nʏi-ri-ŋini
<i>you</i>	yi-nʏi-ngin	yi-nʏi-ri-ŋini
<i>he</i>	di-nʏi-ngin	wi-nʏi-ri-ŋini
<i>we pl.inc.</i>	ŋimbi-nʏi-ngin-nime	ŋimbi-nʏi-ri-nime-ŋini
<i>we pl.exc.</i>	ŋiR-nʏi-ngin	ŋiR-nʏi-ri-ŋini
<i>you pl.</i>	yīR-nʏi-ngin	yīR-nʏi-ri-ŋini
<i>they</i>	wiR-nʏi-ngin	wiR-nʏi-ri-ŋini
<i>we dl.inc.</i>	ŋimbi-nʏi-ngin	ŋimbi-nʏi-ri-ŋini
<i>we dl.exc.</i>	ŋiR-nʏi-ngin-gu	ŋiR-nʏi-ri-gu
<i>you dl.</i>	yīR-nʏi-ngin-gu	yīR-nʏi-ri-gu
<i>they dl.</i>	wiR-nʏi-ngin-gu	wiR-nʏi-ri-gu

As the paradigm shows, the verb stem -nʏi-, *to see* is always bound.

Examples of usage:

gunʏananingi wembem ŋi-nʏi-ri-ŋini
 [tomorrow house I-see-act.type-fut.]
I shall see the house tomorrow.

a-matʏi di-nʏi-ngin kuitʏi nimbi
 [cl./roo he-see-act.type yesterday]
He saw the kangaroo yesterday.

paimi ningi di-nʏi-ngin-keretʏ ki-rim wa-weti muy
 [woman for she-see-act.type-look after she-sit boy emph.]
The woman sat down and looked after the child.

9.5.2. Summary Matrix of Affixes

For purposes of summary only the first two verb classes described will be considered, as these were the only two classes for which complete paradigms were listed. They are typical, however, and may be considered adequate for comparative purposes.

The first morpheme in the verb phrase is always that which indicates the person and number of the actor. A matrix of actor morphemes is as follows:

	1st inc.	1st exc.	2nd	3rd
singular	-	ŋʏ-	yī-	wī-, kī-, dī-
plural	ŋimpi/ŋinti...nime	ŋi(C)-	yī(C)-	wī(C)-
dual	ŋimpi/ŋinti	ŋi-ku	yī-ku	wī-ku

The forms listed here may be taken as general forms, although the indication of duality, and the features which distinguish dual from plural actors have been simplified and are a great deal more complicated than

the outline presented here suggests. The dual and plural forms of the first person inclusive are the same in all verb classes encountered; however, the pluraliser *-nime*, which follows the verb stem, distinguishes this pair. This same morpheme fills the same role in the Brinken subgroup also. It is significant to note the basic constancy of actor morphemes in the Tyemerl Group, unparalleled elsewhere in the Daly Family, where generally actor morphemes change according to tense.

The morpheme which indicates the general type of action/tense normally follows the actor morpheme and undergoes changes according to both the number of the actor and the tense of the verb phrase. These changes are summarised, for the first two verb classes outlined above, in the following tables:

	Past	Continuous	Future
Class 1: Singular	-ni-	-rim ¹	-wi-
Plural	-nni-	-Rim	-Ri-
Dual	-nne-	-Ruŋ	-Ri-
Class 2: Singular	-ŋe-	-pem	-m-
Plural	-tʷini-	-tʷem	-tʷe-
Dual	-tʷina-	-tʷeŋ	-tʷe-

Although the actor morpheme in Ngangikurrunggurr is extremely stable through all verb classes, it can be seen from the two tables immediately above that the morpheme indicating general type of action undergoes considerable changes of form across tenses.

Perhaps the most significant feature revealed by the simplified matrices above is the system by which singular and plural actors are distinguished. Such a system is not found outside the Tyemerl Group within the Daly Family. The picture presented in this brief outline is necessarily simplified and incomplete. However, Hoddinott's forthcoming depth study will present a detailed account of Ngangikurrunggurr verb morphology. The sketch presented here is, however, adequate for general comparative purposes within the scope of this study.

9.5.3. Direct Object

9.5.3.1. Noun Objects

In Ngangikurrunggurr the noun object normally follows any noun subject, and occurs immediately before the verb phrase. If the object is an animate noun it is sometimes repeated in pronominal form within the

¹While the present writer considers that *-m*, *-ŋ* may in fact indicate the continuous or habitual aspect, Hoddinott (pers.comm.) prefers to consider *-rim* as monomorphemic, indicating both tense and action type.

verb phrase. The pronoun object forms are -Ø- for third person singular and -plR- for plural.

Examples:

wembem weti ne-rim-wurity wuwu ŋini
[house small I-hand/tense-make dog for]
I am making a house for the dog.

peke terekiri ne-rim
[tobacco want I-hand/cont.]
I want some tobacco.

9.5.3.2. Pronoun Objects

The Ngangikurrunggurr pronoun object forms are as follows:

<i>me</i>	-ŋI-
<i>you</i>	-nʏI-
<i>him/her</i>	-Ø-
<i>us pl.inc.</i>	-nin-...nime
<i>us pl.exc.</i>	-ŋiR-
<i>you pl.</i>	-tiR-
<i>them</i>	-piR-/-wiR-
<i>us dl.inc.</i>	-nin-
<i>us dl.exc.</i>	-ŋiR-ki-
<i>you dl.</i>	-tiR-ki-
<i>them dl.</i>	-piR-ki-

The plural and dual forms are identical, the dualiser -ki- being suffixed to the plural form to form the dual. The distinction between first person plural and dual inclusive is achieved by the suffix -nime, as the list shows. The plural object forms, with the exception of the first person, have two forms; the first, -tiR-, -piR-, *you* and *them*, occur when the morpheme immediately preceding ends in a consonant; the second -ntiR- and -mpiR- occur if the preceding morpheme ends in a vowel. The addition of a homorganic nasal here is without parallel elsewhere in the Daly Family. The third person plural -piR- has also been observed to take the form -wiR- if the verb stem following begins with /p/. The morphophonemic changes for pronoun objects, then, are not extensive.

The pronoun object always occurs suffixed to the action type morpheme in the final position in the affix unit. The affix unit then has the structure: + Actor + Action type/Tense + Pronoun Object. The verb stem precedes or follows the affix unit.

Examples:

derekiri ɲa-ri-nɣi
[like I-hand-you]
I like you.

derekiri te-mpir-ki
[like he-them-dual]
He likes them (two).

kultɣi nimbi wu-pun-pir-ki-ta
[yesterday he-hurt-them-dl.-hit]
He hit them yesterday.

With the verb *to see*, the position of the verb stem and type of action morphemes is reversed, as was explained above. In this case the pronoun object occupies the final slot in the verb phrase. This is of course very similar to the first example in this section, where it occurred affix unit finally.

Examples:

di-nɣi-ngin-nin-nime
[he-see-Act.-us-plural]
He sees us plural inclusive.

ɲi-nɣi-ngin-nɣi
[I-see-Act.type-you]
I see you.

di-nɣi-ngin-ɲi
[he-see-Act.type-me]
He sees me.

9.5.4. Indirect Object

As noted above, 9.4., separate indirect object pronouns have been found only with singular objects. If the indirect object is plural or dual, the same forms as those listed above for the direct object are used. While the existence of only a partial series appears irregular, Hoddinott (personal communication) agrees that for non-singular indirect objects, the same pronominal forms as for the direct object are used.

Example:

nem yawul ta-ɲiR-ki-pime
[he spear he-us-dual-give]
He gave us dual exclusive the spear.

The singular indirect object pronouns are as follows:

-ŋinti-	<i>me</i>
-mpl-	<i>you</i>
-ne-	<i>him</i>
-ŋe-	<i>her</i>

Examples:

nem te-ŋinti-purit-tʷe kunʷuŋunʷ
 [he he-me-make-past aux. boomerang]
He made me a boomerang.

minta ŋayl miyl ŋu-tu-mpu-wat-tʷe
 [not I food I-eating-you-eat-past aux.]
I did not eat your food.

It is of interest to note that the Ngangkurrungurr indirect object forms correspond formally to the pronominal indirect object forms described above for the Brinken sub-group of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. In both groups, the indirect object has benefactive overtones, although both have special and separate benefactive formations.

With noun indirect objects, the direct object normally precedes the indirect object, although it must be stressed that the position of nouns subject and object within the sentence is not at all rigid, especially where there is no possibility of ambiguity.

9.5.5. Negation

The negative in Ngangkurrungurr is indicated by the negative marker *minta*, which precedes the verb phrase. The negative marker may also occupy the sentence initial position. The tense auxiliaries *tʷe* and *ŋini* may be suffixed to it, as suggested above.

Examples:

ŋayl minta-tʷe a-matʷl ŋu-ta
 [I not-past cl.-kangaroo I-hit]
I did not kill the kangaroo.

nem apanku minta-tʷe wu-ta
 [he snake not-past he-hit]
He did not kill the snake.

minta-tʷe wu-di-tʷutʷur-tʷe ŋanŋiyl
 [not-past he-go-swim-past last night]
He was not swimming last night.

9.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes in Ngangikurrunggurr include numerals, interrogatives and adverbs of time and manner.

9.6.1. Numerals

The numerals of Ngangikurrunggurr are as follows:

1. wukume
2. pakari
3. warakma
4. pakari pakari
5. teme wukume (*one hand*)

The numeral should strictly have been treated above, in 9.3.1.1., since it shows concord with the noun which it modifies. However, in the interests of uniformity of set-out they have been included in this section. The numeral in Ngangikurrunggurr normally follows the noun which it modifies, but may precede it, as in the following examples:

wa-wukume yedi	<i>one man</i>
wur-wukume wur-palmi	<i>one woman</i>

9.6.2. Interrogatives

The most common Ngangikurrunggurr interrogatives are as follows:

kene?	<i>who?</i>
kite?	<i>which? where?</i>
tyakani?	<i>what?</i>
ereke?	<i>how much? how many?</i>
etve?	<i>when?</i>
tyakani nimpe?	<i>why?</i>

The interrogatives normally occupy the sentence initial position, as shown in the examples below. Note, however, that they may occupy any position before the verb phrase.

Examples:

kene wuni wa-kere?
 [who there m/big]
 Who is that big man?

yawul kene te-m-pai?
 [spear who he-act.-break]
 Who broke the spear?

memper kite te-m-pal yawui?
 [child which he-act.-break spear]
Which boy broke the spear?

pepl kin^{vi} t^{ya}kani?
 [stone this what]
What is this stone?

yedl ereke wa-nn^{lm}-wurkama?
 [man how many they-go/cont.-work]
How many men work here?

palmi kite miyl ye-n^{lm}-bulbul
 [woman where food she-go/cont.-cook]
Where is the woman who cooks the food?

et^{ye} yedl a-mat^{vi} wuru-pun-ta?
 [when man cl./kangaroo they-hurt-hit]
When did the men kill the kangaroo?

t^{ya}kani n^{lm}pl apenku yu-pun-ta?
 [what for snake you-hurt-hit]
Why did you kill the snake?

9.6.3. Adverbs and Directionals

The most common adverbs in Ngangikurrunggurr express time, manner and direction. Adverbs collected by the present writer include:

nani ⁿⁱ yl	night, last night
tet ^{ye} ni	now, today
tet ^{ye} ni kin ^{vi}	today
kult ^{vi} n ^{lm} pl	yesterday
gun ^{ya} nani ⁿⁱ ki	tomorrow
kult ^{vi} apl ^{ri}	two nights ago
mapakar ^l	two days ago
kin ^{vi}	towards the speaker, <i>this</i>
wun ^l	away from the speaker, <i>that</i>

Time adverbs normally occur sentence initially, although their position is not rigidly fixed. On numerous occasions they have been found to occur sentence finally. The directionals kin^{vi} and wun^l are most often used simply as demonstratives, in postposition to the noun or pronoun which they modify, as in nem wun^l, *he over there*. However, they are occasionally used without substantival or pronominal referent as directionals.

Examples:

nem ɲirɲir wi-m-ɲini ɲunʔananɲki
[he sleep he-lie-fut. tomorrow]
He will sleep tomorrow.

nem ɲirɲir wi-bem tetʔenɲ
[he sleep he-lie/cont. now]
He is sleeping now.

a-matʔi ɲi-ni-lalir-tʔe kultʔi apiri
[cl./kangaroo I-sit-eat-past two nights ago]
I ate the kangaroo two nights ago.

9.7. WORD ORDER

The most common word ordering in Ngangikurrunggurr may be summed up in the following formula:

± T ± S ± DO ± IO ± VS + Affix Unit (+ Actor/Action Type ± PnO) ± VS ±
Aux ± L ± Inst ± T

The formula is interpreted as follows: The first elements in the sentence are normally time phrases, followed by nouns indicating subject, object and indirect object. Should the sentence contain an interrogative, the interrogative most often occupies the sentence initial position. In this case the time phrase occurs sentence finally. Next comes the kernel of the Ngangikurrunggurr sentence, the verb phrase. As explained above, the verb phrase is in turn followed by various non-nuclear elements such as locational, instrumental and temporal phrases. The word ordering in Ngangikurrunggurr then, is very much the same as for the other member languages of the Daly Family.

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9a. NGENGOMERI

9a.1. GENERAL

Ngengomeri has been mentioned relatively often in anthropological literature and consequently has acquired numerous variant names and spellings, the most common of which are: Ngengomeri, Angomerry, Nanggumiri, Nangimeri, Ngangomori, Nangumiri, Nangimera, Ngengemer, Nangiomera, Nangiomeri, Marewumiri, Mariwunini, Ngengewumiri, Mariwumiri. The terms beginning with Mare-, Mari- are the names given to Ngengomeri by speakers of Marithiel and the other members of the Brinken Sub-group, while the terms beginning with Ngengi- belong to the Tyemer Group. Both mean *language*.

Ngengomeri is in fact a dialect of Ngangikurrungurr, which was described above. The Oates *Survey* (1970:23) claims that there are approximately seventy speakers of Ngengomeri at the present time, thirty of whom live at the Daly River Mission, the remainder living and working on Tipperary Station. This estimate appears to be rather optimistic, the total number of speakers being probably much closer to forty, the majority of whom reside either at or in close proximity to the Mission.

The traditional home of the Ngengomeri is stated to be south of the central Daly River, along the Flora River to its junction with the Daly River (Capell 1963: Area N, 17). Stanner (1933:382) places them in much the same area, and current information corroborates the location given by Stanner and Capell.

In the Capell *Survey* (1963) Ngengomeri is allocated the identification number N64. In the same survey, Capell also mentions a language called Nangimeri, to which he assigns the identification number N65, stating that this language was reported by Stanner (1933). In fact the two are one and the same language, the two names being simply variants, as indicated above.

As far as previously published material on Ngengomeri is concerned, there has been considerable anthropological but little linguistic research. The leading writers in the anthropological field include Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, and Stanner, details of whose works are to be found in the bibliography at the end of this section. Published linguistic material includes some notes by Capell (1940:264) on the Ngengomeri noun class system, notes in Nekes and Worms (1953), and a wordlist and notes by the present writer (Tryon 1968 and 1970). Stanner too has collected a short vocabulary. At the present time Hoddinott is preparing a detailed grammar of the language, together with a study of Ngangikurrunggurr.

Ngengomeri, then, like Ngangikurrunggurr, is a multiple classifying language. It is a member of the Daly Family and within the Family belongs to the Tyemeri Group. It is in fact a dialect of Ngangikurrunggurr, sharing 84% common cognates based on a two hundred word list of basic vocabulary. Since it is only a dialect of Ngangikurrunggurr, Ngengomeri will not be treated in the same detail as the former. While the two are obviously very closely related from a morphological viewpoint, there are some significant differences, but not sufficient to impair the mutual intelligibility of the two dialects.

9a.2. PHONEMES

A tentative listing of the phonemes of Ngengomeri is as follows:

a) Consonants

p	t	tʷ	k
(β)	(s)		
m	n	nʷ	ŋ
w	l	lʷ	
	r	y	
	R		

b) Vowels

i	u
e	a

Notes on the phonology: As was the case with Ngangikurrunggurr, with stops there are linear distinctions at four points of articulation, bilabial, alveolar, alveo-palatal and velar. There is no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, although the remarks made on this subject for Ngangikurrunggurr above are valid for Ngengomeri as well. /p/ is often realised as a bilabial fricative, as well as [p - b]. /tʷ/ too is sometimes realised as a fricative, [s] or [z]. The phonologies of Ngangikurrunggurr and Ngengomeri, then, may be considered identical.

9a.3. SUBSTANTIVE MORPHOLOGY

9a.3.1. Noun Classes

9a.3.1.1. Noun Classes and Concord

In Ngengomeri nouns fall into a number of classes, as is the case with all of the members of the Daly Family. Unmodified nouns fall into seven classes indicated by prefixes as follows:

- | | | |
|----|------|--|
| 1. | Ø- | with most objects found in nature, kinship terms and some parts of the body, usually internal. |
| 2. | te- | with some parts of the body, especially limbs and major external parts. |
| 3. | wa- | with male animates, especially humans. |
| 4. | wur- | with female animates, especially humans. |
| 5. | a- | with most animals and birds regarded as a source of flesh meat; also fish. |
| 6. | yer- | with trees and most wooden implements. |
| 7. | mi- | with most edible vegetables and plants. |

A further noun class for unmodified nouns is also suggested, namely domestic animals. The class-marking prefix here would be *wu-*, as in *wu-qanuwur*, *dingo*. Since other examples were not found, the class is put forward only tentatively, although it must be regarded as highly likely, since the same prefix *wu-* is used with domestic animals in *Ngangikurrunggurr*. Examples of noun classes for unmodified nouns are as follows:

wutya	hair
yakama	woomera
te-tiR	tooth
te-t'yen	tongue
wa-mumu	policemen
wa-puymem	old man
wur-muynger	old woman
a-miri	scorpion
a-ŋiri	emu
yer-t'yewe	mangrove
mi-nt'yanari	lily root

When an adjective modifies a noun, the adjective follows the noun and shows concord with it for class. Adjectives are normally invariable for number, as are nouns, although partial or complete reduplication

may take place with both nouns and adjectives if plurality is stressed. Examples of modifier concord:

mipur wa-minpati	<i>big man</i>
palmi wur-minpati	<i>big woman</i>
wuwu wu-minpati	<i>big dog</i>
tʔawuku a-minpati	<i>big kangaroo</i>
yawur yer-minpati	<i>big tree</i>
miyi mi-minpati	<i>big food</i>
mumba Ø-minpati	<i>big road</i>

It will be observed that as was the case in Ngangikurrunggurr the unmodified noun class indicated by the prefix *te-* is unmarked for concord, in the same manner as Class 1. The concord system in Ngengomeri and Ngangikurrunggurr are identical, with the exception that the Ngangikurrunggurr modifier class marker *ali-*, used with hunting weapons, becomes *yel-* in Ngengomeri.

With possessive adjectives, the same concord system as that found with adjectives, illustrated above, is found, as in the following examples:

yawul Ø-ŋayi	<i>my spear</i>
wuwu wu-ŋayi	<i>my dog</i>

However, with possessive adjectives, the class markers *wa-* and *wur-* for male and female animates respectively are not found; in such circumstances a zero marker is used with the possessive, as in the following:

palmi Ø-ŋayi	<i>my wife</i>
--------------	----------------

The concord system in Ngengomeri may be summed up in the following table for comparison with other members of the Daly Family:

	Unmodified Noun		Possessive Adjective		Adjective
			<i>yel-</i>	-----→	<i>yel-</i>
1.	Ø-	-----→	Ø-	-----→	Ø-
2.	<i>te-</i>	-----→	Ø-	-----→	Ø-
3.	<i>wa-</i>	-----→	Ø-	-----→	<i>wa-</i>
4.	<i>wur-</i>	-----→	Ø-	-----→	<i>wur-</i>
5.	<i>a-</i>	-----→	<i>a-</i>	-----→	<i>a-</i>
6.	<i>yer-</i>	-----→	<i>yer-</i>	-----→	<i>yer-</i>
7.	<i>mi-</i>	-----→	<i>mi-</i>	-----→	<i>mi-</i>
8.	<i>wu-</i>	-----→	<i>wu-</i>	-----→	<i>wu-</i>

For unmodified nouns, then, Ngengomeri has eight classes, if one admits the domestic animal class prefixed by *wu-*. This is the same situation as for Ngangikurrunggurr. With possessive adjectives, the number of classes is reduced to six. Four of these classes are found throughout

the Daly Family, expressed by the same or similar morphemes, as will be seen in the comparative section, below. With adjectives, there are eight classes, which, with the exception of *yel-*, are the same as those listed for unmodified nouns. The system, then, appears to be basically a four class system with subsidiary ramifications.

When a possessive adjective and adjective modify the same noun, the adjective precedes the possessive, as with Ngangikurrunggurr.

9a.3.2. Other Noun Morphology

The most common adjuncts to nouns, apart from the modifiers described above, are postpositions, the most common of which are used to indicate location and instrument, as follows:

- 1) *niŋki* *by/with*, instrumental marker

Examples:

tɻawuku *ŋa-rim-pawal* *yawui* *niŋki*
 [kangaroo I-hands/cont.-kill spear with]
I killed the kangaroo with a spear.

wuwu *ŋu-m-ta* *yawur* *niŋki*
 [dog I-hurt-hit stick with]
I hit the dog with a stick.

- 2) *niŋpi* *from*

Example:

kultɻi *niŋpi* *ŋayl* *ŋu-tenɻ-pat* *yawur* *niŋpi*
 [yesterday I I-falling-fell tree from]
I fell from the tree yesterday.

The postposition in Ngengomeri, as the above examples show, are identical in almost all cases to those employed in Ngangikurrunggurr.

9a.4. PRONOUNS SUBJECT AND OBJECT

In Ngengomeri, as in Ngangikurrunggurr, there are two series of object pronouns, the one denoting the subject and the other the object. The subject forms always occur as free forms, while the object forms are always bound. The forms only are listed here. Their usage will be treated below, during the explanation of the verb morphology.

	Subject	Direct Object
<i>I</i>	<i>ŋayl</i>	-ŋl-
<i>you</i>	<i>nɻinɻi</i>	-nɻl-
<i>he</i>	<i>nem</i>	-ø-
<i>we pl.inc.</i>	<i>nayinime</i>	-nin...nime

	Subject	Direct Object
<i>we</i> pl.exc.	ŋakuR	-ŋiR-
<i>you</i> pl.	nakuR	-niR-
<i>they</i>	wuRum	-wuR-/-puR-
<i>we</i> dl.inc.	nayin	-nin-
<i>we</i> dl.exc.	ŋaRku	-ŋiR-ki-
<i>you</i> dl.	naRku	-niR-ki-
<i>they</i> dl.	wuRike	-wuR-ki-

It is in this area that some significant, if minor, differences appear between Ngengomeri and Ngangikurrunggurr. The subject forms are the same in the two dialects, apart from the first person exclusive and second person dual. For the former Ngangikurrunggurr has ŋaxaRi, while Ngengomeri has ŋaRku, while for the latter, the Ngangikurrunggurr form is naxaRi, while that in Ngengomeri is naRku. With the direct object forms, the sole difference between the forms in the two dialects occurs with the second person plural, where Ngangikurrunggurr has -tiR- while Ngengomeri has -niR-. In both dialects the dual forms are regularly derivable from the plural.

9a.5. THE VERB

9a.5.1. Verb Classes

In Ngengomeri, as in Ngangikurrunggurr, there are numerous verb classes. The classes are the same as for Ngangikurrunggurr, and very similar to those found in the other member languages of the Daly Family. The basis for the division into verb classes is the same throughout the Family, in which certain types of action, such as sitting, lying and standing actions each fall into separate verb classes. Each verb class has its own set of affixes or affix units. The principal verb classes selected for Ngengomeri are very much the same as those just described for Ngangikurrunggurr, so that a better comparison of the two dialects may be made. They are as follows:

1. Actions performed sitting down.
2. Actions performed lying down.
3. Verbs of motion.
4. Verbs of eating.
5. Verbs of seeing.

Remarks made above concerning Ngangikurrunggurr verb morphology may be taken as valid for Ngengomeri. Since this is the case, and since Hoddinott will be presenting a depth study of this language group in the

near future, only a thumbnail sketch will be presented here. The verb phrase in Ngengomeri may be summed up in the following formula:

VPhr = Affix Unit (Actor + Action Type/Tense) ± Verb Stem ± Aux.

This system, naturally, is the same as for Ngangikurrunggurr. The verb phrase consists of a verb stem which may either precede or follow the 'affix unit', with the same constraints as given in 9.5.1.1. The 'affix unit' comprises two, but sometimes three morphemes. The first designates the number and person of the actor. The second indicates the general type of action, and serves as a classifier describing the field of action within which the particular action denoted by the verb is performed. The examples cited below will clarify this point. The final element in the verb phrase is the tense auxiliary, in the case of Ngengomeri *tʷe-*, to indicate completed action, and *-pe*, to indicate futurity. Sample paradigms will be given immediately. This will be limited to singular actors, since they are so similar to those listed above for Ngangikurrunggurr.

9a.5.1.1. *Class 1: Actions performed sitting down*

	Past	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋi-ni-X-tʷe	ŋi-X-pe
<i>you</i>	yi-ni-X-tʷe	yi-X-pe
<i>he</i>	wi-ni-X-tʷe	wi-X-pe

Examples:

ŋi-ni-mariwiri-tʷe kuitʷi nimpɪ
 [I-sit-laugh-past yesterday]
I laughed yesterday.

ŋayi ŋi-Ø-pe wananiŋki
 [I I-sit-fut. tomorrow]
I shall sit down tomorrow.

This class presents several points of interest. First, the 'type of action' morpheme in the future is zero, unlike Ngangikurrunggurr. Apart from this, the two dialects are the same in terms of affix units. Also, in the future, the auxiliary *-pe* replaces the Ngangikurrunggurr *-ŋini*. As with most of the other languages in the Daly Family, the 'affix unit' alone may constitute a complete utterance, without the accompaniment of a free form verb stem. This point is exemplified in the second example cited. However, as was the case in Ngangikurrunggurr, the free form verb stem may be omitted only with verb classes whose 'type of action' morpheme denotes an intransitive of some kind, such as sitting or standing. With classes in which the 'type of action'

morpheme denotes an action which is basically transitive, such as hitting, cutting or making, the verb stem is required if the verb phrase is to be complete. This point will be seen to have been made in the description of nearly all the languages discussed above. Further comment on the verb morphology would be unnecessarily repetitive.

9a.5.1.2. Class 2: Verbs of Motion

While the verb stem members of the first class would include such actions as *laughing, talking, resting, crying* and other activities of a *sedentary* nature, the verb stems belonging to class 2 normally denote actions which involve some kind of movement, usually from place to place, such as *walking, going, swimming* etc. The paradigm of singular forms is as follows:

	Past	Future
<i>I</i>	ŋa-kati-X-tʰe	ŋa-ni-X-pe
<i>you</i>	ya-kati-X-tʰe	ya-ni-X-pe
<i>he</i>	ya-ti-X-tʰe	wa-ni-X-pe

Examples of usage:

kuitʰi nimpɪ ŋayɪ ŋa-kati-tʰe tawun
 [yesterday I I-go-past town]
I went to town yesterday.

waranŋki ŋa-ni-tu-pe
 [tomorrow I-go-rest-fut.]
I shall have a rest tomorrow.

waranŋki ŋampa-ni-tu-nime-pe
 [tomorrow we inc.-go-rest-pl.-fut.]
We inclusive shall rest tomorrow.

With this verb class, the free form verb stem may be omitted, as in the first example, without rendering the utterance incomplete, as indicated above.

9a.5.1.3. Class 3: Verbs of Eating

As with Ngangikurrunggurr, with some of the minor verb classes the affixes which indicate actor and general action type remain the same across tenses; in other words, the affix units are unchanged for past and future, as in the example given below. As is the case with many of the minor verb classes there are few verb stem members.

	Past	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲu-tu-X-tʲe	ɲu-tu-X-pe
<i>you</i>	yu-tu-X-tʲe	yu-tu-X-pe
<i>he</i>	wu-tu-X-tʲe	wu-tu-X-pe

With verbs whose affix units remain unchanged for past and future, the tense change is indicated by a change in the initial consonant of the verb stem, as in the following examples:

waranɪŋki kaku ɲu-tu-watʲ-pe
 [tomorrow meat I-eating-eat-fut.]
I shall eat the meat tomorrow.

kuitʲi nɪmpi kaku ɲu-tu-matʲ
 [yesterday meat I-eating-eat]
I ate the meat yesterday.

9a.5.1.4. Class 4: Verbs of Seeing

The morpheme ordering with verbs of seeing is not the same as for other verb classes. In fact, in this case the verb stem is bound, and occurs immediately following the actor morpheme. The paradigm is as follows:

	Past	Future
<i>I</i>	ɲi-nʲi-ŋkin	ɲi-nʲi-ri-pe
<i>you</i>	yi-nʲi-ŋkin	yi-nʲi-ri-pe
<i>he</i>	ti-nʲi-ŋkin	ti-nʲi-ri-pe

Ngengomeri is different from Ngangikurrunggurr in that with the third person singular in the future tense the actor morpheme is ti- instead of wi-.

Since the verb morphology of Ngengomeri is so nearly identical to that of Ngangikurrunggurr, described above, no summary tables of morphemes will be presented here.

9a.5.2. Direct Object

The noun object normally follows any noun subject, and occurs immediately before the verb phrase. If the object is an animate noun, it may be repeated in pronominal form within the verb phrase.

Examples:

kuitʏi nɪmpi tʏawuku ŋa-rim-pawai
 [yesterday kangaroo I-hand/cont.-spear]
I speared a kangaroo yesterday.

kuitʏi nɪmpi yawui ŋa-nam-kui
 [yesterday spear I-project/cont.-throw]
I threw the spear yesterday.

The pronoun objects are suffixed to the affix unit, immediately following the 'type of action' morpheme. The forms are much the same as those listed for Ngangikurrunggurr, as follows:

<i>me</i>	-ŋi-
<i>you</i>	-nʏi-
<i>him</i>	-Ø-
<i>us</i> pl.inc.	-nin...nime
<i>us</i> pl.exc.	-ŋiR-
<i>you</i> pl.	-niR-
<i>them</i>	-wuR-/-puR-
<i>us</i> dl.inc.	-nin-
<i>us</i> dl.exc.	-ŋiR-ki-
<i>you</i> dl.	-niR-ki-
<i>them</i> dl.	-wuR-ki-

The only difference between the Ngengomeri forms and those listed above for Ngangikurrunggurr comes in the form of the second person plural and dual, where Ngengomeri -niR- replaces Ngangikurrunggurr -tiR-.

Examples:

kuitʏi nɪmpi ŋayi niŋki ŋu-m-nʏi-ta
 [yesterday I agent I-hurt-you-hit]
I hit you yesterday.

kuitʏi nɪmpi wu-m-ŋiR-ki-ta
 [yesterday he-hurt-us-dl.-hit]
He hit us two exclusive yesterday.

It will have been noted that with the third person plural object there are two forms. These have the same morphophonemic conditioning as for Ngangikurrunggurr outlined above.

9a.5.3. Indirect Object

With noun indirect objects, the direct object normally precedes the indirect, which may occur either immediately before or after the verb

phrase. With pronominal indirect objects, the form and positioning within the verb phrase appears to be the same as for Ngangikurrunggurr described above.

9a.5.4. Negation

The negative is indicated in Ngengomeri by the negative marker *mimpe*, which always precedes the verb phrase, and may even occur sentence initially. The tense auxiliaries may be suffixed to the negative marker, in which case they are omitted from the verb phrase proper.

Examples:

kultʏi nɪmpi mimpe-tʏe ɲe-mi-pal yawul
 [yesterday not-past I-destroy-break spear]
I did not break the spear yesterday.

kultʏi nɪmpi ɲayɪ mimpe-tʏe ɲa-rim-pawal tʏawuku
 [yesterday I not-past I-hand/cont.-spear kangaroo]
I did not spear any kangaroos yesterday.

9a.6. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Other word classes in Ngengomeri include numerals, interrogatives and adverbs. The forms collected will be simply listed here without exemplification, since they are almost identical to the Ngangikurrunggurr forms.

9a.6.1. Numerals

The numerals of Ngengomeri have not been observed to exhibit concord. They are as follows:

1. wunʏkume
2. wakari
3. warakma
4. wakari wakari
5. teme wunʏkume (*one hand*)

The numeral follows the noun to which it refers in all cases, and remains invariable.

9a.6.2. Interrogatives

The principal interrogatives of Ngengomeri are as follows:

etʏe?	<i>when?</i>
tʏakani?	<i>what? why?</i>
kene?	<i>who?</i>

The interrogative normally occupies the sentence initial position, although it sometimes follows the noun subject. This usage is the same throughout the Daly Family.

9a.6.3. Adverbs

The only adverbs collected by the writer for Ngengomeri are time adverbs, a sample of which follows:

naniniyi	<i>night, last night</i>
tyawuru	<i>now, today</i>
wananinki	<i>tomorrow</i>
kuitvi nimp	<i>yesterday</i>
kuitvi niyeniinki	<i>last night</i>

Time adverbs normally occur sentence initially if the sentence is not interrogative. With negative or interrogative sentences the time adverb or phrase usually follows the verb phrase.

9a.7. WORD ORDER

Ngengomeri, then, is almost identical to Ngangikurrunggurr from a morphological and syntactic point of view. This is not surprising, since a high percentage of shared cognates on the lexical level is always accompanied, in Northern Australia at least, by morphological and syntactic similarities of an even higher order.

The most common word ordering in Ngengomeri necessarily follows Ngangikurrunggurr as follows:

± T ± S ± DO ± IO ± VS + Affix Unit (+ Actor/Action Type ± PnO) ± VS ±
Aux ± L ± Inst ± T

The formula is interpreted as follows: any Ngengomeri sentence consists of a kernel of an affix unit which contains morphemes to indicate the number and person of the actor, the general type of action embraced by the particular verb class, and optionally morphemes which indicate aspect and direct pronoun object. The affix unit may be either preceded or followed by a verb stem, which is sometimes a free form, see Ngangikurrunggurr above. The verb phrase is followed where appropriate, by tense auxiliaries. The verb phrase may also be preceded by time phrases, usually sentence initially. If, however, the sentence is interrogative or negative, the time phrase is normally transferred to a position following the verb phrase. The time phrase is normally followed by nouns denoting the subject and direct and indirect objects, these four elements occurring before the verb phrase. The verb phrase is followed normally by location and instrumental phrases. Non-verbal sentence types have not

been considered in this outline, as comparable material was not obtained for all of the member languages of the Daly Family.

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¹Items of specific linguistic interest are marked *.

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10. COMPARATIVE WORDLIST

	1	2	3	4	5
	<i>head</i>	<i>hair</i>	<i>eye</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>tooth</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	puntu	puntu met	numuru	yinin	tit
2. Tyeraity	puntu	puntumer	numuru	yinun	tir
3. Matngala	putya	putya mer	tun	tyinln	nat
3a. Yunggor	yutya	yutya mer	miyam	yinln	yat
3b. Kamor	putya	putya mar	miyam	tyinln	nat
4. Marithiel	pöyl	pimeR	miri	yen	tiyeR
4a. Marityabin	piyl	piymeR	miri	yen	tiyeR
4b. MareAmmu	piyl	piyameR	miri	yen	tiyeR
4c. Maridan	piyi	pimeR	miri	yen	tiyeR
5. Maramanandji	piyi	piyimaR	miri	yeŋ	teR
6. Marengar	puŋitit	maR	mi	yen	teR
7. Maranunggu	piya	meR	miri	yin	tir
7a. Ami	piye	meR	miri	yin	tir
7b. Manda	piya	meR	mu	yin	tir
8. Pungupungu	pötve	merepötve	mipe	wutve	tire
8a. Wadyiginy	pötve	marapötve	mipe	witve	tire
8b. Batyamal	pötve	merepötve	mipe	witya	tira
9. Ngangikurrunggurr ¹	depi	wudve	damuy	deŋi	dediR
9a. Ngengomeri	teppi	wutya	tamuy	teŋi	tetiR
	6	7	8	9	10
	<i>ear</i>	<i>tongue</i>	<i>shoulder</i>	<i>elbow</i>	<i>hand</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tywör	gentilk	möntöl	pimlli	nenyilk
2. Tyeraity	tywör	gentulk	mentöm	pimulu	nenyulk
3. Matngala	piyawur	geneR	tewer	tantar	memek
3a. Yunggor	yiwur	yeneR	yewer	yantar	memek
3b. Kamor	piyawur	geneR	tewer	tatar	memek
4. Marithiel	tyaŋl	galtiriritiri	kaRl	pipen	punti
4a. Marityaben	tyeŋl	galtiriritiri	kaRl	pipen	punti
4b. MareAmmu	tyeŋl	galtiriritiri	kaRl	pipen	punti
4c. Maridan	tyeŋl	galtiriritiri	kaRl	pipen	punti
5. Maramanandji	tyaŋl	galŋinŋaŋ	kaRl	pipen	muri
6. Marengar	ŋaŋl	ŋinlnŋ	kaRl	pipen	wunti
7. Maranunggu	tyeŋl	galtiriritiri	kara	pöntör	niyungku
7a. Ami	tyeŋl	galtiri	kara	pöntur	nungku
7b. Manda	tyaŋl	galtiri	kara	pöntör	niyungku
8. Pungupungu	pipere	gatal	tyelme	tyin	gele
8a. Wadyiginy	pipere	gatal	tyelme	tyin	gale
8b. Batyamal	pipere	gatal	tyelme	tyin	gele
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	deŋveri	deŋyen	data	minmirpi	deme
9a. Ngengomeri	teŋveri	teŋyen	tata	teminmi	teme

¹The Ngangikurrunggurr wordlist is written according to Hoddinott's preferred phonemicisation, i.e. both voiced and voiceless stops are written. Elsewhere only a single series is written, following my own tentative phonemicisation.

	11 <i>breasts</i>	12 <i>back</i>	13 <i>belly</i>	14 <i>navel</i>	15 <i>heart</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wiyi	payak	pönʸ	tʸötʸöt	mentuima
2. Tyeraity	wiŋ	tenʸ	pönʸ	tʸötʸörük	mentuima
3. Matngala	köyũ	tetöm	pak	tʸötör	mentöima
3a. Yunggor	wiyũ	yetöm	pak	tʸötör	yentuima
3b. Kamor	kuyũ	tetöm	men	tʸötör	mentöima
4. Marithiel	yeŋi	tati	tuwaR	tetiR	miririm
4a. Marityabin	yeŋi	tati	maʔi	ʔetiR	miririm
4b. MareAmmu	yeŋi	tati	maʔi	ʔetiR	miririm
4c. Maridan	yeŋi	tati	maʔi	tetiR	miririm
5. Maramanandji	yeŋi	tati	maʔi	tʸetiR	miririm
6. Marengar	yeŋi	ʔaʔi	maʔi	tʸertiR	miririm
7. Maranunggu	yiŋi	tetti	tur	tetiR	mirityun
7a. Ami	yiŋi	teti	tuR	titir	mirötʸön
7b. Manda	yiŋi	tati	mari	titir	mirityun
8. Pungupungu	wiŋ	renʸ	wune	tʸöratʸ	töpmatöpma
8a. Wadyiginy	wiŋ	pepere	tawaRa	tʸuratʸ	penʸmen
8b. Batyamal	wiŋ	pepere	tawara	tʸöratʸ	tʸunmanatʸ
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	tʸi	dederi	dege	detʸiri	kekuikui
9a. Ngengomeri	tʸiyi	teteri	teke	tetʸiri	kekuikui
	16 <i>urine</i>	17 <i>excreta</i>	18 <i>thigh</i>	19 <i>leg</i>	20 <i>knee</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wuru	wön	tʸat	ali	pöŋköi
2. Tyeraity	wuru	wön	tʸer	kalar	pöŋköi
3. Matngala	wöri	kön	tʸeri	kerere	pöŋkar
3a. Yunggor	yöriy	kön	tʸeri	yerere	yũkar
3b. Kamor	wiri	kön	tʸeri	kerer	pöŋkar
4. Marithiel	wiyiʔi	wiyan	puwa	wuraŋ	peŋki
4a. Marityabin	witʸiʔi	wuyen	puwa	wuraŋ	peŋki
4b. MareAmmu	witʸiʔi	wiyan	puwa	wuraŋ	peŋki
4c. Maridan	wiyiʔi	wuyen	puwa	wuraŋ	peŋki
5. Maramanandji	wiyiʔi	wen	pa	wuraŋ	pireŋki
6. Marengar	witʸi	wen	puwa	waŋ	peŋki
7. Maranunggu	atʸawa	wun	taR	aRa	piŋkar
7a. Ami	atʸawa	wun	taR	aRa	piŋkar
7b. Manda	atʸawa	wun	taR	aRa	piŋkar
8. Pungupungu	keweietʸ	kuk	petiem	kerei	miranuk
8a. Wadyiginy	kaweietʸ	kuk	peiem	karei	miranuk
8b. Batyamal	keweietʸ	kuk	peiem	kerei	miranuk
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	waga	ŋekĩn	debi	dagari	denĩndʸi
9a. Ngengomeri	waka	ŋekĩn	tepi	takarĩ	tenĩntʸi

	21 <i>foot</i>	22 <i>skin</i>	23 <i>fat</i>	24 <i>blood</i>	25 <i>bone</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	matʏan	ŋalʏii	mölyö	tawut	möröt
2. Tyeraity	mel	karala	mölyö	patawur	muRu
3. Matngala	mer	karala	möi	tʏörŋunʏ	petʏ
3a. Yunggor	mer	karala	mölyö	yörŋunʏ	petʏ
3b. Kamor	mer	karala	möi	tʏörŋönʏ	petʏ
4. Marithiel	peri	teripiri	anayi	wulkirim	muwa
4a. Marityaben	peri	teripiri	nayi	wulkirim	muwa
4b. MareAmmu	peri	teripiri	nayi	wulkirim	muwa
4c. Maridan	peri	teripiri	anayi	wulkirim	amuwa
5. Maramanandji	peri	ateripiri	elawunkar	wulkirim	ama
6. Marengar	peri	ʔatipi	aliyiR	wulkirim	paikum
7. Maranunggu	kumpu	teripirinʏ	reri	purwur	mu
7a. Ami	kumpu	teripirinʏ	reri	purwur	mu
7b. Manda	kumpu	teripuynʏ	rari	wulkirim	mu
8. Pungupungu	tʏöt	yerenʏ	wötewel	kewenʏ	puwik
8a. Wadyiginy	tʏöt	yerenʏ	wötawel	kawenʏ	puwik
8b. Batyamal	tʏöt	ŋanaŋmetʏa	wutawel	kewenʏ	puwik
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	depiR	agaRpuRi	aliyi	petʏen	ami
9a. Ngengomeri	tepir	akarpuru	atewi	putʏen	ami

	26 <i>saliva</i>	27 <i>vomit</i>	28 <i>testicles</i>	29 <i>penis</i>	30 <i>vulva</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tʏaliik	ekek	tömöi	ŋui	pen
2. Tyeraity	tʏaluik	yenʏu	piŋkunʏ	ŋöl	kuyuk
3. Matngala	tak	kenʏŋi	mömör	ŋör	mirir
3a. Yunggor	tak	yenʏŋi	yirir	yör	yitiri
3b. Kamor	tak	wema	pömör	ŋur	tʏintʏik
4. Marithiel	tʏitalwil	wewe	muwari	ŋuri	tʏiyen
4a. Marityaben	tʏipek	wewe	muwari	ŋuri	tʏiyen
4b. MareAmmu	tʏitalwil	wewe	muwari	ŋuri	tʏiyen
4c. Maridan	tʏipek	wewe	muwari	ŋuri	tʏiyen
5. Maramanandji	tʏateiwi	wewe	mari	ŋur	etʏen
6. Marengar	tʏiteri	wewöwe	maranŋi	ŋu	piyiri
7. Maranunggu	tirark	yeŋin	murur	ŋur	tiri
7a. Ami	tirpel	tenpi	murur	ŋur	tiri
7b. Manda	tirpel	yeŋin	murur	ŋur	tiri
8. Pungupungu	wutak	peketʏ	pö	ŋura	kutʏuk
8a. Wadyiginy	wutak	nakali	pö	ŋura	kita
8b. Batyamal	wutak	nakaliʏi	pö	ŋura	kita
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	tʏarawu	wewe	damuri	daŋuri	atʏi
9a. Ngengomeri	tʏarawu	wewe	tamuru	taŋuri	atʏi

	31 <i>neck</i>	32 <i>liver</i>	33 <i>forehead</i>	34 <i>ankle</i>	35 <i>vein</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	men ^y ik	yelik	milk	tuik pöröm	t ^y al
2. Tyeraity	men ^y uk	elurk	milk	tuik pöröm	t ^y al
3. Matngala	men ^y	terker	yömör	tuik pöröm	pey
3a. Yunggor	men ^y	yerker	yömör	turk pöröm	pey
3b. Kamor	-	terker	yömör	mer pöröm	per
4. Marithiel	man ^{ti}	puritli	wemi	mitiri	nenneR
4a. Marityaben	man ^{ti}	purili	wemi	mitiri	nenneR
4b. MareAmmu	man ^{ti}	puritli	wemi	mitiri	nenneR
4c. Maridan	man ^{ti}	apuritli	wemi	mitiri	nenneR
5. Maramanandji	man ^{ti}	aparwu	wemi	muntulk	nenneR
6. Marengar	man ^{ti}	pat ^y u	wemmi	mirti	nenneR
7. Maranunggu	manta	perele	rimi	muntulk	nir
7a. Ami	manta	peretle	rimi	mitir	nir
7b. Manda	manta	peretle	rimu	tungkun piri	nir
8. Pungupungu	met ^y ek	mepere	mitan	muntulk t ^y öt	nir
8a. Wadyiginy	met ^y ak	mepere	mitan	tuik t ^y öt	nir
8b. Batyamal	met ^y ak	mepere	mittan	tuik t ^y öt	nir
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	demend ^y i	adara	dawayir	mundulk	kumipi
9a. Ngengomeri	tement ^y i	atara	tawayir	muntulk	akumipi

	36 <i>name</i>	37 <i>mouth</i>	38 <i>cheeks</i>	39 <i>rib</i>	40 <i>muscle</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	ni	ari	ḡaRik mel	yiril mel	pön ^y
2. Tyeraity	niwu	aru	ḡaRuk	t ^y eilḡur	pön ^y
3. Matngala	ni	kere	lampu	t ^y elerpet ^y	kaR
3a. Yunggor	ni	yera	yampu	t ^y eler	kaR
3b. Kamor	ni	kera	t ^y anḡkur	t ^y eler	kaR
4. Marithiel	puma	ḡal	ḡalḡirmulit ^y	teminminir	tuwaR ¹
4a. Marityaben	mari	ḡal	ḡalmaṡi	teminminir	tuwaR
4b. MareAmmu	puma	ḡal	-	teminminir	tuwaR
4c. Maridan	puma	ḡar	-	teminminir	tuwaR
5. Maramanandji	winkin	ḡal	terkal	eteminir	alirki
6. Marengar	puma	ḡar	ḡarmurit	temi	yillyir
7. Maranunggu	winka	ḡal	tirkal	lörmin	pu
7a. Ami	yinka	ḡal	tirkal	lörmin	pu
7b. Manda	winka	ḡal	terer	teminminir	-
8. Pungupungu	nit ^y	ḡak	ḡel	t ^y arwa	wete
8a. Wadyiginy	nit	ḡak	ḡel	t ^y arwa	wetewete
8b. Batyamal	nit ^y	ḡak	t ^y anḡkur	t ^y arwa	wetewete
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	piwari	det ^y aR	dat ^y amu	aḡiRkimi	aḡini
9a. Ngengomeri	puwari	tet ^y eR	tatamu	aḡiRkimi	aḡini

¹ same as *belly*.

	41 <i>sweat</i>	42 <i>sore</i>	43 <i>man</i>	44 <i>woman</i>	45 <i>father</i> ¹
1. Mullukmulluk	ḡun	lalaRk	yinʔa	alawar	paŋa*
2. Tyeraity	ḡun	mik	ḡen	elukur	papa*
3. Matngala	ḡōntʔat	mitʔayaŋ	tʔitʔi	kuwarak	paŋu*
3a. Yunggor	ḡōn	yik	yitʔi	yuwarak	yaŋu*
3b. Kamor	ḡōn	mik	lakiyi	pamkun	paŋu*
4. Marithiel	ḡintʔiRin	muwun	meri	muku	tiʔa
4a. Marityaben	ḡintʔiRin	muwun	meri	muntimuku	tiʔa
4b. MareAmmu	ḡintʔiRin	muwun	meri	muku	tiʔa
4c. Maridan	ḡintʔiRin	muwun	meri	muku	tiʔa
5. Maramanandji	ḡintʔiRin	maliya	meri	peki	ḡatʔa
6. Marengar	yintʔiRin	muwun	meme	muku	yita
7. Maranunggu	murintirin	maliya	kantu	peku	nikani
7a. Ami	muruntan	yipe	kantu	muku	nikani
7b. Manda	mirintaran	maliya	kantō	muku	nikani
8. Pungupungu	wuluruk	mik	ḡenen	ḡawalaŋ	papalak* ?
8a. Wadyiginy	wuluruk	mik	ḡanaŋ	ḡawalaŋ	papalak* ?
8b. Batyamal	wuluruk	mik	ḡanaŋ	ḡawulaŋ	papa* ?
9. Ngangikurr.	piti	muk	yedi	palmi	ḡata
9a. Ngengomeri	piti	muk	mipur	palmi	ḡata
	46 <i>mother</i>	47 <i>grandfather</i>	48 <i>grandmother</i>	49 <i>policeman</i>	50 <i>I</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wiyaga	tʔuwanʔ	etʔe	tʔayatʔmanʔ	ḡa
2. Tyeraity	kala	epenʔ	ḡiyetʔu	tʔalatʔtinʔ	ḡa
3. Matngala	kila	kawuy	kele	tʔayatʔtinʔ	ḡuru
3a. Yunggor	yilaŋu	yawunʔ	yela	yatʔtinʔ	yuru
3b. Kamor	kilaŋ	tʔaputʔ	kelaŋ	tʔayatʔ	ḡuru
4. Marithiel	kitla	aŋka	maŋka	tukḡanan	yikin
4a. Marityaben	kitla	aŋka	maŋka	tukḡanan	yikin
4b. MareAmmu	kitla	aŋka	maŋka	tukḡanan	yikin
4c. Maridan	kitla	aŋka	tʔemi	tukanan	yikin
5. Maramanandji	ala	aŋka	maŋka	tuknini	yikin
6. Marengar	kila	tʔanaŋka	maŋka	tukḡanan	yin
7. Maranunggu	akani	kakul	meŋkeli	tukyaŋana	ḡanʔ
7a. Ami	eʔe	kakul	mekali	teR	ḡanʔ
7b. Manda	akani	kakul	meŋkaleni	teR	ḡanʔ
8. Pungupungu	kalaŋ	kuka	etʔe	tukmaka	ḡetʔe
8a. Wadyiginy	kalaŋ	tʔemenʔ	makaŋ	wenen	ḡetʔe
8b. Batyamal	kaʔaŋ	kuka	makaŋ	wenen	ḡatʔa
9. Ngangikurr.	kala	aŋgu	kawu	wamumu	ḡayi
9a. Ngengomeri	ala	aŋku	meŋke	wamumu	ḡayi

¹These items are largely unreliable because of the problem of address versus reference terms. While reference terms were sought here, they were not obtained in all cases. Address terms are marked *.

	51 <i>you</i>	52 <i>he</i>	53 <i>we all</i>	54 <i>cheeky</i>	55 <i>baby</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wagaRi	yöntön	yeRkit	paIRkam	aiak
2. Tyeraity	nin ^y	yöntön	eRkur	paIRkam	nut ^y ui
3. Matngala	wagaRi	kuna	gerömarar	paIRkam	werak
3a. Yunggor	yagaRi	yöna	yerömarar	yentawu	yerek
3b. Kamor	nugkur	kuna	gerömarar	paIRkam	werek
4. Marithiel	nan ^y	nañ	gañkinim	mulirit ^y	yeri
4a. Marityaben	nan ^y	nañ	gañkinim	mamulerit ^y	yeri
4b. MareAmmu	nan ^y	nañ	gañkinim	mulirit ^y	yeri
4c. Maridan	nan ^y	nañ	gañkinim	murerit ^y	yeri
5. Maramanandji	nan ^y	nañ	gañkiwin ^y im	tatagani	yeri
6. Marengar	nin ^y	nañ	kañkinim	mawurit	yipeñi
7. Maranunggu	nina	nankun ^y	kit ^y a	mulirit ^y	yera
7a. Ami	nina	ne	gañkunen ^y e	mulirit	yera
7b. Manda	nine	nugu	gañkunen ^y e	mulerit ^y	yera
8. Pungupungu	kene	tyamuyit ^y	gerere	patak	pampat ^y
8a. Wadyiginy	kane	tyamuyit ^y	gerere	patak	pampat ^y
8b. Batyamal	kene	tyamuyit ^y	garara	pañak	pampat ^y
9. Ngangikurr.	n ^y in ^y i	nem	nayinime	wat ^y et ^y ir	membIR
9a. Ngengomeri	n ^y in ^y i	nem	nayinime	wat ^y arit ^y ir	mempIR

	56 <i>old man</i>	57 <i>old woman</i>	58 <i>barramundi</i>	59 <i>possum</i>	60 <i>dog</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	puntupuiu	paRmat ^y	wu	wöyö	muyin ^y
2. Tyeraity	puntupurk	mankut ^y	wu	wöyö	muyin ^y
3. Matngala	tyerarak	mimi	köl ^y	pu	tyamaR
3a. Yunggor	yut ^y apur	yimit ^y	köl ^y	pu	yamaR
3b. Kamor	tyererek	mimik	köl ^y	pö	tyamaR
4. Marithiel	pintipinti	kunikuni	amati	apuyiri	wat ^y an
4a. Marityaben	mapintipinti	kunukuni	tyantawuri	apuyiri	wat ^y an
4b. MareAmmu	mapintipinti	kunukunu	tyantawuri	apuyiri	wet ^y an
4c. Maridan	pintipinti	-	amañi	apuyiri	wat ^y an
5. Maramanandji	mapintipinti	mitli	emeti	apiri	yitin
6. Marengar	mapintipinti	kunakuni	amarti	apu	wat ^y an
7. Maranunggu	pölö	tyilili	mati	pan ^y	mi
7a. Ami	pölöpölö	telyak	mati	paran ^y	mit ^y irim
7b. Manda	pölö	talyak	mati	paran ^y	mit ^y irim
8. Pungupungu	namuyuk	gañali	penget	tyet ^y et ^y et ^y	muyin ^y
8a. Wadyiginy	yikurma	gañali	penget	tyat ^y arat ^y	muyin ^y
8b. Batyamal	yikurma	gañali	penget	tyat ^y arat ^y	muyin ^y
9. Ngangikurr.	wat ^y ermuse	kunixuni	et ^y elmiR	awuyi	wuwu
9a. Ngengomeri	wapuyem	wurmuyñir	awalañir	apuntermi	wuwu

	61 <i>tail</i>	62 <i>meat</i>	63 <i>snake (gen.)</i>	64 <i>red kangaroo</i>	65 <i>porcupine</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wömö	te	te nuntYui	tYeyöt	meniqity
2. Tyeraity	wumu	te	te muru	manturk	maniqkity
3. Matngala	tYiriny	pinYa	kupan	tYayir	meniqity
3a. Yunggor	yirinY	yinYa	mantara	yayir	yeniqity
3b. Kamor	tYiriny	pinYa	matara	tYayir	milk
4. Marithiel	yeri	awu	amaiika	awetYöwurañ	emiritti
4a. Marityaben	yeri	awu	aʔatima	wetYuwurañ	amiritti
4b. MareAmmu	yeri	awu	amaiipu	wetYuwurañ	miritti
4c. Maridan	yeri	awu	-	awetYuwurañ	amiritti
5. Maramanandji	yeri	awu	emei	ayemi	amiritti
6. Marengar	yari	yilirki	apan	awartiwañ	amiritti
7. Maranunggu	yiri	awa	awa mala	manaRk	meniqity
7a. Ami	yiri	awa	awa mala	manaRk	miritti
7b. Manda	yiri	awa	awa mala	manaRk	miritti
8. Pungupungu	kelpe	metYem	metYem puwik	kenka	maniqity
8a. Wadyiginy	kalpe	metYem	tYalwe	kanka	niminqatY
8b. Batyamal	kalpe	metYem	kuikamaiañ	kanka	niminqatY
9. Ngangikurr.	akimi	kagu	epeñgu	amatYi	aganipinYi
9a. Ngengomeri	akimi	kaku	apeñku	tYawuku	karimpiyali
	66 <i>emu</i>	67 <i>crow</i>	68 <i>blue tongue</i>	69 <i>mosquito</i>	70 <i>black cockatoo</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tYinpuRat	wanKiR	kumukut	wenñin	tirmilk
2. Tyeraity	ñuron	wanKuR	pirit	wenñun	tirmilk
3. Matngala	nöwöt	wanKaR	pirir	wörañ	tirmilk
3a. Yunggor	nöwöt	yanKaR	-	yörañ	tirmilk
3b. Kamor	nöwöt	wanKaR	pirir	wörañ	tirmil
4. Marithiel	amutYir	awak	awiyeri	awingal	aliralira
4a. Marityaben	mutYir	awak	awuyeri	awingal	aliralira
4b. MareAmmu	mutYir	awak	awiyeri	wingal	liralira
4c. Maridan	amutYir	awak	awuyeri	awingal	aliralira
5. Maramanandji	ñurp	amikiR	aweri	aputYi	aterwi
6. Marengar	amutYir	awak	aweri	añawak	aʔirak
7. Maranunggu	ñurtYi	wak	wiri	putti	tirwe
7a. Ami	ñurtYi	wak	wuri	putti	tirmei
7b. Manda	ñurtYi	wak	wuri	putti	tirmei
8. Pungupungu	ñurutYui	wak	wuritY	wörañ	tirmei
8a. Wadyiginy	ñörön	wak	puwik mitañ	wörañ	tirmei
8b. Batyamal	ñurön	wak	puwik mitañ	mörañ	tirmei
9. Ngangikurr.	ñuRp	awangl	aperi	apuñi	adiRmi
9a. Ngengomeri	añiRi	awangki	kuñarak	apuçi	atiRmi

	71 <i>green ant</i>	72 <i>feather</i>	73 <i>scorpion</i>	74 <i>pelican</i>	75 <i>egg</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	piRinYkam	kalawun	guineili	maRmaR	tyiRminY
2. Tyeraity	te tit	kalawun	guineilur	maRmaR	tyiRmunY
3. Matngala	piRinYkam	kalawun	paririm	maRmaR	mur
3a. Yunggor	piRinYkam	yörön	yörmunju	yeRmaR	mur
3b. Kamor	piRinYkam	-	namurwan	puRa	mur
4. Marithiel	ayipumanti	amuni	agaty	puRa	amuwar
4a. Marityaben	ayipemanti	amuni	agaty	atyinqiwi	muwar
4b. MareAmmu	ayipemanti	amuni	agaty	tyinqiwe	amuwar
4c. Maridan	ayipemanti	amuniq	agaty	puRa	amuwar
5. Maramanandji	eitar	awawuya	awetanur	puRa	amari
6. Marengar	anjirigiri	amuni	agay	apuRa	amari
7. Maranunggu	nipityimanta	watan	wityanur	tarayar	mur
7a. Ami	tirin	wuu	wityanur	kutype	mur
7b. Manda	yipityimanda	wuu	wityanur	kutype	murö
8. Pungupungu	tit	kalawan	ketypek	malmara	möte
8a. Wadyiginy	tit	gukat	ketypek	malmara	möta
8b. Batyamal	tit	gukat	ketypek	malmara	möta
9. Ngangikurr.	agadir	abalar	anYiri	buRa	amuri
9a. Ngengomeri	anganani	apa	amiri	puRa	amuru

	76 <i>wild turkey</i>	77 <i>wallaby</i>	78 <i>turtle</i> ¹	79 <i>goose</i>	80 <i>grasshopper</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	mönYun	ma	tirin	mu	patpat
2. Tyeraity	yintYumunurk	mutY	tailY	mu	patpat
3. Matngala	quraqura	qantlin	töRin	kalmunKur	patpat
3a. Yunggor	quraqura	qantlinY	tuRin	yalmunKur	yetpat
3b. Kamor	quraqura	qantlinY	tanY	qalmunKur	patpat
4. Marithiel	amumuy	awamangkan	aamu	amayiraq	ianpalanpa
4a. Marityaben	amumu	wamangkan	aamu	mayiraq	niginiri
4b. MareAmmu	amumu	pira	-	mayiraq	niginiti
4c. Maridan	amumu	wamangkan	aamu	amayiraq	alanpalanpa
5. Maramanandji	amumu	awamangkan	aamu	apikiri	awanagula
6. Marengar	amumu	apen	-	akilinga	aniginiri
7. Maranunggu	mamu	wamangkan	muwayi	työipör	patpat
7a. Ami	mamu	pirönu	muntYir	työipör	patpat
7b. Manda	mamu	pörunu	muntYir	työipör	patpat
8. Pungupungu	muynak	mutY	qir	qenpete	patpat
8a. Wadyiginy	muynak	mutY	qemene	qalimpurk	patpat
8b. Batyamal	muynak	mutY	qamene	qalimpurk	patpat
9. Ngangikurr.	angantamu	wamangal	malaRgu	anganni	atyambuli
9a. Ngengomeri	angantYamu	wamangkai	malaRku	akaninqke	atyampuli

¹The Daly River people distinguish *long neck* and *short neck* turtles. Items listed here correspond to *long neck*.

	81 <i>eaglehawk</i>	82 <i>sugar bag</i>	83 <i>bandicoot</i>	84 <i>dingo</i>	85 <i>centipede</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	waruk	gutYun	wiri	wutantYun	nörömpöt
2. Tyeraity	murumelu	gutYun	mingul	paraqtirur	tYeluR
3. Matngala	pultYaRk	wemeR	köra	tYamaRyimtInY	tYereR
3a. Yunggor	pulptYen	tYöninY	yöra	yamaRyimtInY	tYereR
3b. Kamor	pultYan	wemeR	köre	tYamaRyimtInY	tYeleRInY
4. Marithiel	apultYiRk	tYamara	amaliŋar	watYantaŋki	awulkiri
4a. Marityaben	apultYiRk	tYemera	amaliŋar	watYantaŋki	awulkiri
4b. MareAmmu	amelir	tYemara	maliŋar	watYantaŋki	awulkiri
4c. Maridan	pultYiRk	tYemere	amaliŋar	watYantaŋki	awulkiri
5. Maramanandji	pultYiRk	nantYi	atYamuŋil	yitinwerermir	awulkiri
6. Marengar	apultYiRk	amaliŋu	aŋamuŋil	watYan	awiliri
7. Maranunggu	pultYan	kukun	taman	mikut	yiriya
7a. Ami	pultYan	kukun	taman	tepen	minteler
7b. Manda	pultYir	kukun	taman	yagunönte	minteler
8. Pungupungu	pultYan	tYinenY	rötYan	tepen	tYelere
8a. Wadyiginy	walaktirak	tYinenY	rötYan	tepin	tYelara
8b. Batyamal	walaktirak	tYinenY	rötYan	tepin	tYelere
9. Ngangikurr.	pultYiRk	pungkuli	aditylbi	wupetiri	awalŋiRi
9a. Ngengomeri	pultYirk	pungkulu	atitYipi	wuŋaniwuR	awalŋiRi
	86 <i>shark</i>	87 <i>alligator</i> ¹	88 <i>breem</i>	89 <i>flying fox</i>	90 <i>stingray</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tYeyö	yini	ŋuramin	niyeriŋ	meRöm
2. Tyeraity	tYeyö	yini	ŋuramin	nuyeriŋ	meLöM
3. Matngala	atanY	ŋörŋör	ŋuramin	taraniŋ	meRöm
3a. Yunggor	atanY	yörŋör	ŋurmin	taraniŋinY	meRöm
3b. Kamor	artenY	ŋörŋör	-	wamu	walaŋkutYi
4. Marithiel	artenY	awurumpun	akarir	akilinYin	awuŋku
4a. Marityaben	awanki	awurumpun	akarir	akilwinYin	apenti
4b. MareAmmu	awanki	awurumpun	akarir	akilwinYin	awaŋkawaka
4c. Maridan	artanY	awurumpun	akarir	akirinYin	awuŋku
5. Maramanandji	atanY	awurumpun	akarir	ameŋkel	emeŋpe
6. Marengar	artanY	akinipi	akarir	awartat	ewerpen
7. Maranunggu	atanY	werempen	wilmir	möratYi	wuŋku
7a. Ami	wanka	werempen	wilmir	yilapuk	wuŋku
7b. Manda	wanka	werempen	-	yilapuk	anka
8. Pungupungu	wanka	wulir	wilmir	walipity	yikatY
8a. Wadyiginy	wanka	wiler	murumuruŋ	walepity	yikatY
8b. Batyamal	wanka	wiler	puwar	walapity	yikatY
9. Ngangikurr.	aRdanY	awaRipun	awin	wadat	emeŋpe
9a. Ngengomeri	aRtanY	ayirkinwari	awin	watat	waluŋkutYi

¹Two types of crocodile are distinguished, one corresponding to *alligator* in the Aboriginal English of the Daly, although alligators are not found in Australia. The present writer is not convinced that the same type of crocodile is referred to in all cases in the list presented here.

	91 <i>spear</i>	92 <i>woomera</i>	93 <i>boomerang</i>	94 <i>nullanulla</i> ¹	95 <i>hairbelt</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tʔaɣar	yaRuwa	tʔimbitʔimbitʔ	warawara	purur
2. Tyeraity	tʔaɣal	matÖR	tʔimbitʔimbitʔ	tʔentenʔ	purur
3. Matngala	kanpi	lakanʔ	kunʔuɣunʔ	makulpa	muɣuRuk
3a. Yunggor	yanpi	lakanʔ	tʔimplitʔimplitʔ	warawara	muɣuRk
3b. Kamor	kanpi	lakanʔ	tʔimplitʔimplitʔ	warawara	-
4. Marithiel	tʔenti	manpuk	kunʔuɣunʔ	makulpi	plmeR
4a. Marityaben	tʔenti	kalan	kuntʔikɪnʔ	makulpi	plyimeR
4b. MareAmmu	tʔenti	kalan	kuntʔigɪnʔ	mitpala	plyameR
4c. Maridan	tʔenti	manpuk	kuntʔuɣunʔ	mitʔampa	plmeR
5. Maramanandji	tʔenti	purintʔitʔ	ʔaʔimir	wampak	maR
6. Marengar	tʔenti	kalan	kuntʔikɪnʔ	yeriʔawur	maR
7. Maranunggu	tʔinta	manpuk	winʔiŋkɪnʔ	makulpa	kureri
7a. Ami	tʔinta	menpuk	winʔiŋkɪnʔ	mitlwur	kureri
7b. Manda	tʔinta	menpök	winʔiŋkɪnʔ	mitpala	kurerir
8. Pungupungu	welere	kalan	winʔiŋkɪnʔ	lankur	puikaŋ
8a. Wadyiginy	welere	kalan	winʔiŋkɪnʔ	mitpala	-
8b. Batyamal	welere	kalan	winʔiŋkɪnʔ	mitpala	puikaŋ
9. Ngangikurr.	yawul	yagama	kunʔuɣunʔ	makulpi	wudʔa
9a. Ngengomeri	yawul	yakama	kunʔuɣunʔ	makulpi	wutʔa
	96 <i>canoe</i>	97 <i>axe</i>	98 <i>dilly bag</i>	99 <i>fire</i>	100 <i>smoke</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wenti	walʔimpa	karɪR	tʔöŋ	wen
2. Tyeraity	wentu	litʔpurp	pempuR	tʔuɣu	wen
3. Matngala	wena	meŋ	karaR	yim	wuŋkur
3a. Yunggor	yene	yitʔpurp	kara	yim	wuŋkur
3b. Kamor	wene	meŋ	karaR	yim	wuŋkur
4. Marithiel	tʔalwu	malawuR	wuRkitɪ	tʔentʔi	tʔamu
4a. Marityaben	wutɪŋki	malawuR	wuRkitɪ	tʔentʔi	tʔamu
4b. MareAmmu	wutɪŋki	piriri	wuRkitɪ	tʔentʔi	tʔamu
4c. Maridan	tʔarwu	malawuR	wuRkitɪ	tʔentʔi	tʔamu
5. Maramanandji	tʔalwu	malawuR	wuRkitɪ	tʔentʔi	tʔantʔamu
6. Marengar	tʔaru	malawuR	wiritɪ	tʔentʔi	wanirik
7. Maranunggu	tʔalwu	memme	waRkatɪ	yiminʔ	tʔumu
7a. Ami	wutɪŋki	piriri	waRkatɪ	yiminʔ	tʔumu
7b. Manda	wutɪŋki	piriri	waRkatɪ	ylminʔ	tʔumu
8. Pungupungu	wine	litʔpurp	waRkatɪ	wiŋ	wunkel
8a. Wadyiginy	wutɪŋki	litʔpuruk	waRkatɪ	win	winkel
8b. Batyamal	wutɪŋki	litʔpurp	waRkatɪ	win	wunkal
9. Ngangikurr.	yanɪŋgitʔi	bi	waRgatɪ	yengi	tawan
9a. Ngengomeri	keniŋkitʔi	pi	waRkutu	yengi	tawan

¹The *round* nullanulla, as opposed to the *flat*, is represented here.

	101 <i>water</i>	102 <i>cloud</i>	103 <i>rain</i>	104 <i>rainbow</i>	105 <i>wind</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wak	tuRu	mata	pululuy	tagit
2. Tyeraity	wak	perk	mata	pululuy	wururk
3. Matngala	wuk	perk	wön	pululuy	tagar
3a. Yunggor	yuk	perk	yön	wululuy	perperma
3b. Kamor	wuk	perk	wön	pululuy	perperma
4. Marithiel	wuti	wenji	wuti	aʔatimel	marawuk
4a. Marityaben	wuti	wenji	wuti	aʔatimel	wlirir
4b. MareAmmu	wuti	wenji	wuti	aʔatimel	marawuk
4c. Maridan	wuti	wenji	wuti	aʔatimer	marawuk
5. Maramanandji	wuti	wenji	wuti	amunitʔir	marawuk
6. Marengar	wuti	wenji	wuti	aratimir	wirir
7. Maranunggu	wuta	wönö	wuta	pulipuli	waRmala
7a. Ami	wuta	pöre	wuta	terwen	merawuk
7b. Manda	wuta	pöre	wuta	terwen	merawuk
8. Pungupungu	wik	perk	wön	pulipuli	regere
8a. Wadyiginy	wik	kuk	wön	pulaypulay	marawuk
8b. Batyamal	wik	wuk	wön	panajak	marawuk
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	kuri	wu	kuri	aŋumnggi	marawuk
9a. Ngengomeri	kuru	wu	kuru	aŋamngki	marawuk
	106 <i>sea</i>	107 <i>river</i>	108 <i>ground</i>	109 <i>stone</i>	110 <i>track</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	ŋampatʔ	wak wuRu	pawuRk	walk	yeRi
2. Tyeraity	ŋampatʔ	wuRu	wöntʔö	wulu	eru
3. Matngala	ŋampatʔ	par	yuru	pawaR	tʔal
3a. Yunggor	ŋampatʔ	yuk paR	yuru	yawaR	yal
3b. Kamor	kutʔuwuy	wuk peter	yuru	pawaR	tʔal
4. Marithiel	puranaŋ	peter	pitlak	karitla	temperetuk
4a. Marityaben	puranaŋ	tiyeri	piʔak	karitla	temperetuk
4b. MareAmmu	puranaŋ	wuti makat	pitlak	karitla	tampati
4c. Maridan	puranaŋ	peter	pitlak	karitla	nelen
5. Maramanandji	puŋaŋ	peter	wenʔir	karawala	nalan
6. Marengar	kitʔar	peter	pirek	karalal	peri
7. Maranunggu	pulanpulaŋ	wuta makat	pitlem	karawala	emme
7a. Ami	wutaR	pera	pilam	ŋurwin	enme
7b. Manda	pöröme	pera	menner	ŋurwin	enme
8. Pungupungu	ŋalkin	wik makat	wut	maŋ	kel
8a. Wadyiginy	ŋalkin	wik para	wut	maŋ	kal
8b. Batyamal	ŋalkin	para	wut	maŋ	kel
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	yewe	diRpeder	ŋitʔir	pepi	mumba
9a. Ngengomeri	tʔewe	peter	ŋitʔir	pepi	mumpa

	111 <i>dust</i>	112 <i>sun</i>	113 <i>moon</i>	114 <i>star</i>	115 <i>grass</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	pulu	miRi	yelk	nömöröl	weni
2. Tyeraity	pulu	miRu	yölk	numurul	wenu
3. Matngala	puruŋ	mörör	nutun	milan	wen
3a. Yunggor	yöru	yörör	yutun	yömöröl	yen
3b. Kamor	-	pen	nötön	naŋu	wen
4. Marithiel	penni	panti	piŋkal	witli	werl
4a. Marityaben	penni	panti	piŋkal	witli	pali
4b. MareAmmu	punpun	panti	piŋkal	witli	pali
4c. Maridan	penni	panti	piŋkal	witli	werl
5. Maramanandji	penni	panti	piŋkal	yewl	weri
6. Marengar	penni	panti	mirermln	witli	pari
7. Maranunggu	pönnö	klylk	alamunʸ	mörö	wörö
7a. Ami	pönnö	kanʸmer	piŋkal	penenʸtʸlpe	yörö
7b. Manda	pönnö	kanʸmer	piŋkal	pentenʸepe	yörö
8. Pungupungu	pönaŋ	kaylk	kalakalak	möte	wörak
8a. Wadyiginy	wunkal	kaylk	kare	möta	wörak
8b. Batyamal	pönaŋ	kaylk	kere	möte	wörak
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	baŋun	miRl	diwlnʸ	ŋanime	wuR
8a. Ngengomeri	papun	miRl	tiwln	ŋanime	wuR
	116 <i>vegetable</i>	117 <i>tree</i>	118 <i>leaf</i>	119 <i>pandanus</i>	120 <i>ironwood</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	mi	tʸöŋ	tempel	muramura	meR
2. Tyeraity	miyu	tʸuŋu	wör	naru	eliuRk
3. Matngala	miyi	yim	tempel	tʸaŋatʸa	pawlt
3a. Yunggor	yilyl	yim	yempel	yaŋatʸa	yawltʸ
3b. Kamor	meyl	yim	wörör	tʸaŋatʸa	mawunʸ
4. Marithiel	miyl	ɬawuR	muliŋi	miŋan	mawunʸ
4a. Marityaben	miyl	ɬawuR	muliŋi	miŋen	mawunʸ
4b. MareAmmu	miyl	ɬawuR	muliŋi	miŋen	mawunʸ
4c. Maridan	miyi	ɬawuR	muliŋi	miŋan	mawunʸ
5. Maramanandji	miyl	ɬawuR	yirln	tʸiŋi	mawunʸ
6. Marengar	miyl	ɬawuR	marlr	miŋan	tʸiwi
7. Maranunggu	miya	tawar	kalkal	yaRa	mawunʸ
7a. Ami	miya	tawar	kalkal	yeRa	mawunʸ
7b. Manda	miya	tewer	yirln	yaRa	mawunʸ
8. Pungupungu	menenʸ	wlŋ	kelkel	nuratʸ	mele
8a. Wadyiginy	menenʸ	win	kalkal	nʸuratʸ	mele
8b. Batyamal	menenʸ	wlŋ	kalkal	nʸuratʸ	mele
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	miyl	yawuR	miriŋi	yeRki	mawunʸ
9a. Ngengomeri	miyl	yawuR	miriŋki	yeRki	mawunʸ

	121 <i>paperbark</i>	122 <i>corroboree</i>	123 <i>beach</i>	124 <i>red ochre</i>	125 <i>rotten</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	yeli	menyik	yölpun	kuraray	nʏukma
2. Tyeraity	wel	menyik	tirwakatʏ	kuraray	ŋanpuruk
3. Matngala	war	menʏ	kelem	tʏarak	mulʏmulʏma
3a. Yunggor	meriy	menʏ	yelem	yöraray	yöruk
3b. Kamor	war	menʏ	ŋatwakatʏ	kurara	ŋalputput
4. Marithiel	ʔiyel	waŋka	tiyermuniri	kukara	kumunpu
4a. Marityaben	pulirin	waŋka	munniri	waʔi	kukup
4b. MareAmmu	ʔiyel	waŋka	munniri	kukara	kumunpu
4c. Maridan	ʔiyel	waŋka	-	kukara	kurukupa
5. Maramanandji	mungin	ʔarmantʏi	terpuŋaŋ	kukara	ŋalputput
6. Marengar	muginin	waŋka	namaner	kukara	kukup
7. Maranunggu	wer	waŋka	menner	kukara	kunpuruk
7a. Ami	weletʏ	waŋka	aiawa	kukara	wunpörukpöruk
7b. Manda	weletʏ	waŋka	atiawa	kukara	wunpörukpöruk
8. Pungupungu	wara	waŋka	tir wakatʏ	kukara	ŋanpuruk
8a. Wadyiginy	wara	peŋenʏ	wakatʏ	kukara	panʏpuruk
8b. Batyamal	wara	paŋanʏ	wakatʏ	kukara	panpuruk
9. Ngangikurr.	wa	wanga	menʏir	kugara	bubuŋini
9a. Ngengomeri	wa	yementʏi	menʏir	kukara	pupuŋini
	126 <i>hole</i>	127 <i>paddle</i>	128 <i>house</i>	129 <i>nothing</i>	130 <i>string</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tim	muŋayil	entök	akana	pik
2. Tyeraity	yalu	muŋayil	entuk	yawuki	pik
3. Matngala	tʏar	muŋayil	war	takayu	pik
3a. Yunggor	yar	yunayil	yar	yakayu	pik
3b. Kamor	tʏampal	muŋayil	war	tenkuyu	pik
4. Marithiel	yerʔi	muŋayil	ŋatta	wuy	putʏa
4a. Marityaben	yerʔi	muŋayil	ŋatta	ampiʔawur	putʏa
4b. MareAmmu	yerʔi	muŋayil	ŋatta	wuy	putʏa
4c. Maridan	yerʔi	muŋayil	ŋatta	wuy	putʏa
5. Maramanandji	yerʔi	muŋayil	ŋatta	wuy	putʏa
6. Marengar	yeri	muŋayil	ŋatta	liyik	puya
7. Maranunggu	ŋelkinʏ	muŋayil	ŋatta	way	tʏi
7a. Ami	yeri	muŋayil	ŋatta	way	tʏi
7b. Manda	yeri	muŋayil	ŋatta	way	ninir
8. Pungupungu	yura	muŋayil	ŋatta	kamaŋka	pik
8a. Wadyiginy	yura	muŋayil	ŋatta	kamaŋka	nir
8b. Batyamal	yura	muŋayil	ŋatta	kamaŋka	pik
9. Ngangikurr.	weri	muŋayil	wemben	minmi	piy
9a. Ngengomeri	weri	muŋayil	wempen	minmi	piy

	131 <i>fan</i>	132 <i>clapstick</i>	133 <i>bamboo</i>	134 <i>mangrove</i>	135 <i>lily root</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	manmai	keRpIn	muik	tYIr	mi yilik
2. Tyeraity	wentuR	mörö	muik	tYil	munpaŋarin
3. Matngala	mörön	keRwIn	kanpi	tYil	putYarir
3a. Yunggor	yörön	yeRŋinY	kanpi	yer	köyöt
3b. Kamor	mörön	möi	kanpi	tYIr	putYerir
4. Marithiel	welēl	titir	kanpi	tYinti	mimaŋam
4a. Marityaben	-	titil	kanpi	tYinti	mikall
4b. MareAmmu	wenYinai	titir	kanpi	tYinti	miŋari
4c. Maridan	amuniŋ	titir	kanpi	tYinti	miŋari
5. Maramanandji	awawuya	titir	kanpi	tYinti	miŋari
6. Marengar	wirir	tiŋir	kanpi	tYinti	miŋa
7. Maranunggu	pölpöi	naŋka	kanpi	wutaR	peltYimiri
7a. Ami	wulu	naŋka	kanpi	tinpiilir	pertYenmiri
7b. Manda	wulö	titil	kanpi	tinpiilir	merenY
8. Pungupungu	ŋukatY	penenY	kenpi	tYil	maralan
8a. Wadyiginy	ŋukatY	naŋka	kanpi	tYil	yu
8b. Batyamal	ŋukatY	naŋka	kanpi	tYil	kalawukuk
9. Ngangikurr.	abalaß	palamuri	kanbi	yirmadi	mindYanari
9a. Ngengomeri	apa	palamuru	kanpi	yertYewe	mintYanari
	136 <i>whirlwind</i>	137 <i>sand</i>	138 <i>firestick</i>	139 <i>tobacco</i>	140 <i>bite</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tYöröm	yöipun	ylwIR	wön	taR
2. Tyeraity	tYöröm	eiöm	tYunq	wön	muRk
3. Matngala	tYöröm	kelem	minYkere	kön	ier
3a. Yunggor	tYöröm	yelem	yiriR	kön	yer
3b. Kamor	tYöröm	kelem	ylm pitYma	kön	ier
4. Marithiel	kuminantYipapa	manYiR	mintiri	wuyen	-titip-
4a. Marityaben	kuminantYipapa	munniRi	pitipiti	wuyen	-titip-
4b. MareAmmu	kumanantYapa	munniRi	mintiri	wuyan	-titip-
4c. Maridan	kuminantYipapa	manYiR	pitipiti	wuyen	-titip-
5. Maramanandji	kununupuy	manYiRi	mintYiri	wen	-tutur-
6. Marengar	kumanantYapa	menneR	-	wen	-titip-
7. Maranunggu	kementerpupu	menner	mintara	wun	karkar
7a. Ami	titir	menner	mintere	wun	karat
7b. Manda	titir	menner	mintere	wun	karkat
8. Pungupungu	tYöratY	wawu	wigenenY	wunkel	tar
8a. Wadyiginy	tYöratY	wut	wigenenY	winkel	karat
8b. Batyamal	kunuwiruk	wut	wiganan	winkel	ŋalpa
9. Ngangikurr.	mungunmungunYi	menYir	palayin	peke (?)	-katit-
9a. Ngengomeri	paŋunpaŋun	manYir	palayin	peka (?)	-tarat-

	141 <i>laugh</i>	142 <i>cough</i>	143 <i>tell lies</i>	144 <i>smoke (v)</i>	145 <i>light fire</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	kaRkat	kenʏek	nit	puŋ	tʏampuRp
2. Tyeraity	tʏaru	kumaŋkur	wapai	pulu	taŋŋlr
3. Matngala	katma	kenʏek	mektam	puŋ	puRp
3a. Yunggor	katma	yenʏek	yek	puŋ	tʏat
3b. Kamor	katma	kelʏeŋ	ŋeretma	puŋ	-
4. Marithiel	-aʃu-	-kutluk-	-nʏuku-	-pö-	-ŋal-
4a. Marityaben	-aʃu-	-kutluk-	-tipər-	-pipl-	-
4b. MareAmmu	-aʃu-	-kutluk-	-nitper-	-pipl-	-ŋal-
4c. Maridan	-aʃu-	-kutluk-	-	-pi-	-tʏek-
5. Maramanandji	-arwu-	-murtʏi-	-wulan-	-pi-	-tʏetʏet-
6. Marengar	-atu-	-kutluk-	-neri-	-pipi-	-ŋarplk-
7. Maranunggu	eruwe	kutluk	nʏuku	pö	ŋly
7a. Ami	eruwe	kuluk	nʏuku	paka	ŋay
7b. Manda	eruwe	kulluk	nʏuku	paka	ŋay
8. Pungupungu	kenek	kutluŋ	nʏuku	ŋakpu	tʏettʏet
8a. Wadyiginy	kanak	maŋkara	nʏuku	pö	-
8b. Batyamal	kanak	ŋalaŋalaŋ	-	-	-
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	-madiwiri-	-kuluk-	-	-pi-	-tʏerket-
9a. Ngengomeri	marewiri	kiiik	ŋiti	pi	tʏerket
	146 <i>cut (wood)</i>	147 <i>swallow</i>	148 <i>extinguish</i>	149 <i>roast</i>	150 <i>cook</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tʏuRp	tuRkwat	tapulp	kölp	ŋöyat
2. Tyeraity	tʏuRp	tuRkwat	tapulp	kölp	pulup
3. Matngala	ŋeRp	tuRkatʏ	tapirk	tʏer	tʏuku
3a. Yunggor	yöRp	yöRkatʏ	yepirk	yörp	yuk
3b. Kamor	ŋeRp	tuRkatʏ	tatʏwirk	tʏer	tʏuku
4. Marithiel	-tʏör-	-ʃaŋkuti-	-mittik-	-pu-	-pi-
4a. Marityaben	-	-ʃaŋkutu-	-mitik-	-pu-	-pi-
4b. MareAmmu	-kit-	-ʃaŋkutu-	-mittik-	-pu-	-pi-
4c. Maridan	-tʏur-	-ʃaŋkuti-	-miritik-	-pu-	-pi-
5. Maramanandji	-tʏur-	-ʃaŋkutu-	-takmir-	-pu-	-pil-
6. Marengar	-kat-	-partu-	-mitak-	-pu-	-piplr-
7. Maranunggu	kat	tunʏkuti	truk	tultʏi	nʏa
7a. Ami	kat	kutʏuk	tuk	tʏuk	nʏa
7b. Manda	kat	kutʏuk	tuk	tʏuk	nʏe
8. Pungupungu	ŋetʏer	ŋölk	pentup	tʏal	tʏuk
8a. Wadyiginy	pir	-	-	kalwak	tura
8b. Batyamal	piraŋ	-	-	katʏa	tura
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	-ket-	-kuduk-	-metʏir-	-tʏul-	-bulbul-
9a. Ngengomeri	ket	kutuk	metʏir	tʏir	pul

	151 <i>eat</i>	152 <i>run</i>	153 <i>sneeze</i>	154 <i>finish</i>	155 <i>give</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	lak	tʔakət	tʔipala	wirk	aŋ
2. Tyeraity	lak	tʔakət	tʔipula	wirk	aŋ
3. Matngala	ŋak	tʔakət	tʔirtʔa	wirŋak	aŋ
3a. Yunggor	yak	yakət	yapala	yiRk	yaŋ
3b. Kamor	ŋak	tʔakət	tʔirŋama	wirk	aŋ
4. Marithiel	-wuki-	-paRpatʔ-	-tʔirŋapala-	wakay	-pup-
4a. Marityaben	-	-paRpatʔ-	-	wakay	-pup-
4b. MareAmmu	-wuki-	-paRpatʔ-	-tʔirŋa-	wakay	-pup-
4c. Maridan	-wuki-	-paRpatʔ-	-tʔirŋapala-	wakay	-pup-
5. Maramanandji	-litʔ-	-tari-	-tʔirŋapele-	wakay	-putʔ-
6. Marengar	-yimpuri-	-parup-	-tʔirŋa-	wakay	-pap-
7. Maranunggu	tʔam	taRa	tʔirŋa	wakay	wut
7a. Ami	yila	taRa	tʔirŋa	wakay	wut
7b. Manda	yile	paratʔ	tʔirŋa	wakay	wut
8. Pungupungu	lak	tʔene	tʔirŋa	wirk	wup
8a. Wadyiginy	yetʔi	tʔena	tʔikmiyitʔ	wirk	wene
8b. Batyamal	yatʔi	tʔena	yikmiyitʔ	wirk	tʔawara
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	-watʔ-	-pelpil-	-tʔirŋapala-	wakay	-pime-
9a. Ngengomeri	-watʔ-	pelpil	tʔirŋapala	wakay	pime

	156 <i>steal</i>	157 <i>comb</i>	158 <i>look for</i>	159 <i>night</i>	160 <i>today</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wumu	yaRp	taRatma	puwaR	emen
2. Tyeraity	nuŋumu	yaRp	töktökma	puyitu	emen
3. Matngala	wömnʔi	wer	taRarma	ŋötʔ	tʔawu
3a. Yunggor	yömyi	yitʔ	yaR	yötʔ	yawuŋin
3b. Kamor	wömnʔi	yaRk	tayma	ŋöyk	tʔawuŋu
4. Marithiel	-niwanti-	-wer-	-maŋani-	nitʔi	yaŋi
4a. Marityaben	-mittim-	-wer-	-	nitʔi	yeŋi
4b. MareAmmu	-mittim-	-wer-	-maŋani-	nitʔi	yeŋi
4c. Maridan	-mittim-	-wer-	-	nitʔi	yeŋi
5. Maramanandji	-metum-	-wir-	-meŋani-	nitʔi	yaŋi
6. Marengar	-mitim-	-pipi-	-	nitʔi	yeŋi
7. Maranunggu	wintʔara	yerp	tatayma	ŋupel	kutʔala
7a. Ami	wintʔere	-	-	ŋupel	yaŋu
7b. Manda	wintʔere	-	-	ŋupel	kutʔala
8. Pungupungu	yenʔere	yeruk	tatayme	ŋik	yaŋaraŋ
8a. Wadyiginy	-	yeruk	-	ŋuratʔa	yaŋaraŋ
8b. Batyamal	yenʔere	yeruk	-	ŋik	yaŋaraŋ
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	-mitum-	-pi-	-pipili-	ŋaniŋiʔi	detʔeŋi
9a. Ngengomeri	mitum	-	pipili	ŋaniŋiʔi	tʔawuru

	161 <i>tomorrow</i>	162 <i>yesterday</i>	163 <i>when?</i>	164 <i>what?</i>	165 <i>who?</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	nöyö	pentyi	amanelli	nikite	ayin
2. Tyeraity	nuquyu	pentu	qantukelu	nikite	aqun
3. Matngala	nikanuq	tyatyin	aninyimitiny	antya	nuwun
3a. Yunggor	yikanuq	yatyin	yeninyömitiny	yantya	yuwun
3b. Kamor	pukunuq	tyatyin	ananymiyi	antya	nuwun
4. Marithiel	nitviganl	tyuwuganan	kiminpa	nintya	qinimpa
4a. Marityaben	nitviganl	tyuwuya	kumenpa	nintya	qinimpa
4b. MareAmmu	nitviganl	tyuwuya	kumanpa	nintya	qinimpa
4c. Maridan	nitviganl	tyuwuganan	kuminpa	nintye	qinimpa
5. Maramanandji	nitviganl	turgantyi	kiminpe	manantyi	kilimpe
6. Marengar	nitviganl	tyuwya	pinti	yipe	ninimpe
7. Maranunggu	yeri	tyaltvara	möntö	emi	apa
7a. Ami	yaraquya	nenanu	möntö	emi nö	apa
7b. Manda	yarquya	emöröqana	möntö	mente	ampa
8. Pungupungu	yinymek	mörakara	enikine	nynity	naka
8a. Wadyiginy	yinymek	mörakara	enikine	nynity	naka
8b. Batyamal	yinymek	mörakara	kinenuq	yinity	naka
9. Ngangikurr.	qunyananngi	kuityi	etye	tyagani	kene
9a. Ngengomeri	wadanigki	kuityi	atye	tyakani	kene
	166 <i>why?</i>	167 <i>yes</i>	168 <i>no</i>	169 <i>big</i>	170 <i>small</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	nikitimanv	ya	akana	-nelli	-pi
2. Tyeraity	nikitenö	ya	yawuki	-telu	-pui
3. Matngala	antyanuq	ya	takayu	kunawaran	klyity
3a. Yunggor	yantyanuq	ya	yakayu	yönöwaran	klyity
3b. Kamor	antyatiny	yu	wetma	alugu	klyik
4. Marithiel	nintyawa	yu	wuy	kapil	tyapatv
4a. Marityaben	nintyeni	yu	wuy	kitia	yipeñi
4b. MareAmmu	nintyeni	yu	aw	kapil	yipeñi
4c. Maridan	nintyawa	yu	wuy	kapil	tyapatv
5. Maramanandji	manandyiwe	yu	mami	kapil	tyapatv
6. Marengar	yipeni	yu	liyk	kitiiga	yipeñi
7. Maranunggu	emi	yu	way	puwai	kiruwalitv
7a. Ami	emi nö	yu	way	tukantyi	kir
7b. Manda	mente nö	yu	way	puwai	kiruwalitv
8. Pungupungu	nynityuq	qe	kamaqka	palmaiaq	pörek
8a. Wadyiginy	nynityuq	qe	kamaqka	pamalaq	pörak
8b. Batyamal	yinityöq	qa	kamaqka	pamalaq	pötvalak
9. Ngangikurr.	tyakanigini	yu	minmi	-kere	-weti
9a. Ngengomeri	tyakane	yukuy	minmi	-minpati	-weti

	171 <i>black</i>	172 <i>white</i>	173 <i>red</i>	174 <i>one</i>	175 <i>two</i>
1. Mullukmull.	eyikayik	pugma	witma	yanakna	weRena
2. Tyeraity	iyukiyuk	tamaima	witma	yawunuka	weRunuka
3. Matngala	wakpaRa	tamarma	piRpma	nempöyu	kuruntYöyu
3a. Yunggor	wakpaRa	yamarma	witma	yempöyu	yöröntYöyu
3b. Kamor	wakpaRa	pugma	piRpma	nempayu	palpmuru
4. Marithiel	tYikim	pukam	wuriwuri	gintYi	tYitYukuni
4a. Marityaben	tYikim	pukam	ganitirgai	gintYi	tYitYukuni
4b. MareAmmu	tYikim	pukam	kanitirgai	gintYi	tYitYukuni
4c. Maridan	tYikim	pukam	wuriwuri	gintYi	tYitYukuni
5. Maramanand.	tYikimpi	kininYpuy	pirkim	gantYipe	pinYiti
6. Marengar	tYikam	pukam	kitinwi!	gintYi	tYitYuk
7. Maranunggu	tYipme	kanYapuy	wuriwuri	gantawanY	miyitinY
7a. Ami	tYugara	pi	wuriwuri	ganti	miyitYa
7b. Manda	tYugara	pi	wuriwuri	ganti	miyita
8. Pungupungu	kalaik	terma	wuriwuri	gantYitY	parkatangkanY
8a. Wadyiginy	kalaik	paypay	wuriwuri	gantYitY	parkatamalaŋ
8b. Batyamal	kalkaik	paypaymalaŋ	wuriwuri	gantYitY	parkatamalaŋ
9. Ngangikurr.	tYikmemp	buymangkari	piłpilgini	wukume	pakari
9a. Ngengomeri	tYipmampi	puymangkari	piłpilgini	wunkume	wakari

	176 <i>three</i>	177 <i>ripe</i>	178 <i>good</i>	179 <i>new</i>	180 <i>bad</i>
1. Mullukmull.	weRenayenak	tameli	-payin	-naŋki	-nat
2. Tyeraity	wuRitYawun	tam mureme	-payin	-ninYin	-netu
3. Matngala	kurungYöyunempöyu	tamiyi	kunpuritY	kiyaŋ	kuweruk
3a. Yunggor	yöröntYuyuyempöyu	yöyöŋkö	yunpuritY	yiyaŋ	yöwöruk
3b. Kamor	palpmurunempöyu	tamkanin	mölyu	-	kuwerek
4. Marithiel	nimpini	wuyanYmi	kati	yaŋi	wintYeni
4a. Marityaben	nimpini	wuyanYmi	kati	-	wintYeni
4b. MareAmmu	nimpini	wuyanYmi	kati	yeŋi	wintYeni
4c. Maridan	nimpini	gatin	kati	yeŋi	wintYeni
5. Maramanand.	alikiinti	wenYmir	kati	yaŋi	wintYen
6. Marengar	animpir	wenYmi	kati	yaŋi	wintYan
7. Maranunggu	nenYmete	wunYmu	natla	yaŋu	wintYan
7a. Ami	miyitYaŋanti	wunYme	netle	yaŋu	wetYir
7b. Manda	miyitaŋanti	wunYme	natla	yaŋu	witYir
8. Pungupungu	parkataŋantYitY	temkapaŋka	tYaraku	perengeren	tYalkma
8a. Wadyiginy	parkataŋantYitY	paramuŋ	tYaraku	perengeren	tYalkma
8b. Batyamal	parkataŋantYitY	paramuŋ	tYaraku	paraŋaraŋ	tYalkma
9. Ngangikurr.	warakma	mibin	-yibu	-maRgu	-ienggir
9a. Ngengomeri	warakma	mipin	-yupu	-	-makari

	181 <i>blind</i>	182 <i>deaf</i>	183 <i>sick</i>	184 <i>old</i>	185 <i>heavy</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wunʏ	nʏapa	tiŋkiRk	-nöran	tʏuRma
2. Tyeraity	wunʏ	ŋamama	tiŋkiRk	-nerewun	tʏuRma
3. Matngala	wunʏ	nʏapa	tiŋkiRk	kunumpaŋat	tʏuRma
3a. Yunggor	wunʏ	yapa	-	yönöpaŋat	yöRma
3b. Kamor	wunʏ	nʏapa	-	-	-
4. Marithiel	kutlik	ŋamama	tinkirk	tayan	wutit
4a. Marityaben	kutluk	-	-	muntak	wutit
4b. MareAmmu	kulluk	-	tinkirk	tayan	wutut
4c. Maridan	kutlik	ŋamama	mur	tayen	wutit
5. Maramanandji	tʏara	ŋamama	tinkirk	wayina	mutputŋan
6. Marengar	nimili	-	tinkirk	muntak	wutit
7. Maranunggu	kuluk	ŋememe	tinkirk	muntak	yörmalaŋ
7a. Ami	kulluk	ŋememe	tʏilk	muntak	wutmul
7b. Manda	kulluk	ŋememe	tʏilk	tayin	wutut
8. Pungupungu	kuluk	ŋamama	tinkirk	muntak	ŋölma
8a. Wadyiginy	kulluk	ŋamama	tʏilk	muntak	ŋulma
8b. Batyamal	kuʔluk	ŋamama	tʏilk	muntak	ŋulma
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	tʏara	ŋamama	tinkirk	wetimpi	wutitmi
9a. Ngengomeri	tʏara	-	tinkirk	wetimpi	wutitmi
	186 <i>light</i>	187 <i>full</i>	188 <i>sharp</i>	189 <i>straight</i>	190 <i>sweet</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	-lapar	arikina	keRpin	kuntunʏ	tiŋtiŋma
2. Tyeraity	ŋalwar	arukunuka	keRpin	tʏalmitʏun	tiŋtiŋma
3. Matngala	kuwanpan	pimpiyu	keRwin	kuntunʏ	tiŋtiŋma
3a. Yunggor	yampara	pimpiyu	yeRwin	yetma	-
3b. Kamor	ŋalwar	karinʏanam	keRwin	tʏentenʏma	ŋenwemeryu
4. Marithiel	tuʔut	-	meltem	tʏetma	titiʏimu
4a. Marityaben	tuʔut	tiyer	meltem	ʔatma	titiʏimu
4b. MareAmmu	tuʔut	tiyer	meltem	ʔatma	titiʏimu
4c. Maridan	tuʔut	pakwuytʏ	meltem	yarunʏ	titiʏimu
5. Maramanandji	tuʔut	pakwuytʏ	meltyem	tʏatma	titiʏimu
6. Marengar	tuʔut	tʏirpinŋi	meltem	ʔatma	tiyimu
7. Maranunggu	watpar	pakwuytʏ	perke	tʏetme	titiʏimu
7a. Ami	watper	pekpiya	perkirki	yarunʏ	penter
7b. Manda	töttöt	pekpiya	perkirkir	yerunʏa	titiʏimu
8. Pungupungu	watpar	pakwuytʏ	parka	tʏatma	tiŋtiŋma
8a. Wadyiginy	warawara	pepötʏe	parka	yarunʏ	penter
8b. Batyamal	warawara	pepötʏa	parka	yarunʏ	penter
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	ŋarapa	bakutʏ	mulpaŋ	tʏatma	yiripinʏ
9a. Ngengomeri	ŋarapa	pa kutʏ	mulpaŋ	tʏatma	yiripinʏ

	191 <i>goanna</i> ¹	192 <i>camp</i>	193 <i>flower</i>	194 <i>dream</i>	195 <i>year</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	tʲeRinʲ	tek	maRka	ŋuRŋuRmi	tunʲu
2. Tyeraity	tʲenʲ	tek	maRka	ŋuRŋuRmi	tunʲu
3. Matngala	aRanʲ	tak	maRka	pör	kawut
3a. Yunggor	yaRanʲ	yak	maRka	yör	yawut
3b. Kamor	aRanʲ	tak	maRka	pör	kawut
4. Marithiel	amuntʲiŋir	nitin	maRka	yeri	warl
4a. Marityaben	amuntʲiŋir	nitin	maRka	yeri	warl
4b. MareAmmu	muntʲiŋir	nitin	maRka	yerl	wari
4c. Maridan	amuntʲiŋir	nitin	maRka	yeri	warl
5. Maramanandji	amuntʲiŋir	yitliwi	tumurtʲi	yeri	wari
6. Marengar	-	wuyi	maŋun	yeri	wari
7. Maranunggu	ŋaran	wöwe	maRka	yerl	wuru
7a. Ami	ŋaran	yöya	maRka	watʲil	wurum
7b. Manda	-	yöya	maRka	yerl	wurum
8. Pungupungu	ŋaran	rek	marka	pönetʲ	wula
8a. Wadyiginy	ŋaren	rek	marka	pönetʲ	wula
8b. Batyamal	ŋaran	rek	marka	pönetʲ	wula
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	amɪŋin	dedengurwalkitʲ		pɪrl	kidin
9a. Ngengomeri	amenkinʲ	tete	walkitʲ	pirl	kitin
	196 <i>stand up</i>	197 <i>bury</i>	198 <i>yam stick</i>	199 <i>wash</i>	200 <i>long</i>
1. Mullukmulluk	wuRma	tim	yen	kuRpuk	tʲalala
2. Tyeraity	wuRma	kurput	yin	kulpuk	tʲalala
3. Matngala	wuRma	kurmum	tʲan	tʲuritʲ	kupan
3a. Yunggor	yöRom	yirk	yan	yöritʲ	yupan
3b. Kamor	patʲattʲat	kurtʲat	yim tʲan	kumkatʲ	kupantʲali
4. Marithiel	-yaRan-	-tim-	yeli	-put-	malika
4a. Marityaben	-pilak-	-tim-	yelimeltem	-pet-	malupu
4b. MareAmmu	-	-tim-	yeli	-pet-	malupu
4c. Maridan	-tʲatlak-	-putʲan-	yeri	-pet-	malika
5. Maramanandji	-	-tum-	yelimeltem	-pet-	malawuran
6. Marengar	-yaŋ-	-tʲutʲu-	yeritʲawur	-tʲiput-	malupu
7. Maranunggu	yaRuŋ	tim	yili	pit	malikita
7a. Ami	tama	tim	yili	pit	malakita
7b. Manda	tama	tim	yili	pit	malikita
8. Pungupungu	yaRuŋ	yerwat	yire	ep	walanʲ
8a. Wadyiginy	yaRuŋ	-	yira	puka	walanʲ
8b. Batyamal	-	-	yira	puka	walanʲ
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	-tʲalak-	-tum-	yewiR	-pul-	-pengu
9a. Ngengomeri	tʲalak	tum	yewir	pul	pengu

¹The goanna species represented here is known locally as the *plains goanna*.

11. OVERVIEW

11.1. INTRODUCTORY

While the Daly Family may appear to constitute a fairly loose-knit unit when viewed in terms of percentages of shared cognates, a comparison of phonological and morpho-syntactic features reveals many important characteristics common to all of the member languages of the Family. Several of these characteristics, especially those involving verb morphology, appear to be restricted to the Daly Family, within the north Australian area, having been found to be lacking in the languages which are spoken around the borders of the Daly linguistic complex, for example in the Gunwingguan, Warraian and Larakian Families.

11.2. PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

The phonological structure of the Daly languages is rather undifferentiated, since they manifest very similar, if not identical phoneme inventories. This situation is, of course, to be expected, since many of the phonological features of Australian languages are almost universal.

11.2.1. Linear Distinctions

The number of linear distinctions within the Daly Family ranges between four and six, five being the most common number. The maximally six points of articulation are as follows: bilabial, interdental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal and velar, thus:

p	t̪	t	t̠	tʲ	k
m		n	ɳ	nʲ	ŋ

Within the Family, all members have at least four linear distinctions among oral stops and nasals, these being: bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. The members of the Wogaity and Brinken sub-groups within

the Brinken-Wogaity Group, also have a possible although not definite retroflex series. While there is no doubt that a retroflex series does, in fact, exist within the groups just mentioned, its phonemic status remains in doubt at the present time. The Brinken sub-group represented by Marithiel, also appears to observe another distinction, an interdental articulation, although the lack of any corresponding nasal would suggest that this distinction is perhaps sub-phonemic.

11.2.2. Number of Stop Series

Only one oral stop series with voiced (lax) and voiceless (tense) allophones has been observed throughout the Daly Family, with the possible exception of the Tymeri Group (Ngengomeri and Ngangikurrunggurr); Hoddinott's forthcoming depth-study of this Group will throw further light on this particular problem. In several of the languages, there appears to exist a phonemic opposition between voiced and voiceless stops in intervocalic position, such as [depe] *head* and [debe] *thigh* in Ngangikurrunggurr. From morphological evidence within the Family the voiceless articulation intervocalically should be interpreted as geminate, giving /teppi/ *head* and /tepi/ *thigh*. This feature is relatively common throughout the languages of the Arnhem Land area.

11.2.3. Fricatives

Fricatives have been encountered within the Family only in the Tymeri Group and the Brinken sub-group of the Brinken-Wogaity Group. Within the Tymeri Group [β], [s] and [x] have been encountered. The phonemic status of [s] and [x] is very doubtful. However, Hoddinott (personal communication) is of the opinion that the bilabial fricative will ultimately be shown to be phonemic. Within the Brinken sub-group it appears unlikely that the fricatives recorded have phonemic status, since [s] and [z] appear to occur as free variants of /tʋ/, while [β] is frequently found to be in free variation with bilabial stops.

11.2.4. Flaps and Retroflex Glide

Throughout the Daly Family, two /r/ phonemes are found in each language, although the actual realisations differ according to particular subgroup. Within all of the subgroups, with the exception of the Wogaity subgroup of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, the phonemic opposition is normally between a trill /R/ and a median resonant /r/. In this subgroup alone, then, the trill/flap versus continuant opposition is replaced by an alveolar versus retroflex opposition.

11.2.5. Laterals

The linear distinctions with laterals match the apical and laminal distinctions with stops and nasals described above for all members of the Daly Family, with the exception of interdentals.

11.2.6. Other Glides

The bilabial glide /w/ and the palatal glide /y/ are found in all of the languages of the Daly Family.

11.2.7. Vowels

The maximal number of vowel phonemes within the Daly Family is as follows:

/i/	/u/
	/ö/
/e/	/a/

In the Mulluk Group and the Maranunggu and Wogaity sub-groups of the Brinken-Wogaity Group all five vowels are encountered. It should be noted, however, that /a/ occurs with the highest statistical frequency, followed by /i/ and /u/. Both /e/ and /ö/ are of low statistical frequency, as might be expected. Within the Brinken sub-group of the Brinken-Wogaity Group, the phonemic status of /ö/ is not definitive, since in Marithiel and Marityaben it is encountered only rarely, while in Marengar and Maramanandji it is absent altogether. /ö/ is also lacking from the phonemic inventory of the Tyemerri Group. It might be added that allophonic variation of all of the vowels except /ö/ is very extensive.

11.3. NOUN CLASSES AND CONCORD

All of the members of the Daly Family exhibit noun classification in some form or other. The system adopted by each Group will be examined separately, and will be followed by a general comparison.

11.3.1. Mulluk Group

11.3.1.1. Mulluk Subgroup

The Mulluk subgroup, consisting of Mullukmulluk and Tyeraity, has two overlapping systems, unlike the rest of the Daly Family.

(a) Unmodified nouns are divided into four classes, as is the case in most of the languages within this Family. The noun classification is indicated by class-marking prefixes (see 1.3.1.1. and 2.3.1.1.). The

classes represented here are:

1. Parts of the body, kinship terms, and natural phenomena.
2. Animals hunted for meat.
3. Plants and vegetable food.
4. Trees and wooden objects.

(b) Both of the languages within the Mulluk subgroup exhibit concord with adjectives, but not with possessive adjectives. However, the four classes with adjectives overlap with but are not identical to the four unmodified noun classes. They are as follows:

1. Parts of the body, male humans, living animals, European tools and natural phenomena.
2. Feminine nouns.
3. Food, weapons for catching food, food containers.
4. Trees, camps and objects associated with travel.

This 'double' classificatory system is restricted to the languages which form the Mulluk subgroup. Elsewhere, where modifiers do show concord with the noun, the same classes and markers are observed with both the noun and the modifier.

11.3.1.2. *Daly Subgroup*

The Daly Subgroup, consisting of three dialects, Matngala, Kamor and Yunggor, is radically different from the Mulluk subgroup. It patterns most closely with the Wogaity Subgroup.

(a) Unmodified nouns fall into four classes, indicated by prefixes, as follows:

1. Body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena.
2. Animals hunted for meat.
3. Vegetables food and plants.
4. Wooden implements, trees and weapons.

(b) Within the Daly Subgroup there is no concord with modifiers.

11.3.2. *Brinken-Wogaity Group*

11.3.2.1. *Brinken Subgroup*

The Brinken Subgroup, consisting of Marengar, Maramanandji, Marithiel and its dialects, has a less complex, but more extensive classificatory system than the Mulluk Group.

(a) Unmodified nouns generally fall into seven classes, as follows:

1. Body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena.
2. Animals hunted for meat.

3. Vegetable food and plants.
4. Weapons and wooden implements.
5. Trees
6. Masculine nouns.
7. Feminine nouns.

Marengar combines classes 4 and 5 into a single class, as do the other Groups within the Daly Family. In fact it is only within the Brinken-Wogaity subgroup that trees fall into a separate category, as opposed to wooden implements.

(b) All of the members of this subgroup show concord, both for adjectives and possessive adjectives. The prefixes to the modifiers are the same as those used with unmodified nouns. For actual forms, see Table 1. The identity of class and classifying prefix with both nouns and modifiers is normal throughout the Family, with the exception of the Mulluk Group system discussed above.

11.3.2.2. *Maranunggu Subgroup*

The Maranunggu subgroup, consisting of Maranunggu, Manda and Ami patterns very closely with the Wogaity subgroup.

(a) Unmodified nouns normally fall into six classes, indicated by prefixes, as follows:

1. Body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena.
2. Animals and flesh meat.
3. Vegetables and plants.
4. Trees and wooden implements.
5. Male humans.
6. Female humans.

It should be observed that the prefixes marking classes 5 and 6 are only sporadically used in Manda and Ami. In Maranunggu, however, they appear quite regularly and systematically.

(b) None of the languages/dialects within this subgroup exhibit concord with modifiers.

11.3.2.3. *Wogaity Subgroup*

The Wogaity subgroup, Pungupungu, Wadyiginy and Batyamal, although using different classificatory prefixes, exhibits a noun class system which is practically the same as that described above for the Maranunggu subgroup.

(a) Unmodified nouns fall into four classes, as follows:

1. Body parts, kinship terms, natural phenomena.
2. Animals and flesh meat.

3. Vegetables and plants.

4. Trees and wooden implements.

The classes for male and female humans noted for the other subgroups within the Brinken-Wogaity Group appear to be absent from the Wogaity subgroup.

(b) None of the languages/dialects within this subgroup show concord with modifiers.

11.3.3. Tyemerl Group

The Tyemerl Group, consisting only of Ngangikurrunggurr and Ngengomerl, has a classificatory system which is similar to, but more complex than that outlined for other members of the Daly Family.

(a) Unmodified nouns fall into seven classes, indicated by classificatory prefixes, as follows:

1. Some body parts, kinship terms and most natural objects.
2. Animals hunted for meat.
3. Edible plants, vegetables and grasses.
4. Trees and most wooden implements.
5. Male animates.
6. Female animates.
7. Domestic animals.

A further class, body parts not included in 1., indicated by the prefix *te-*, exists, although because of its restricted membership both the present writer and Hoddinott (personal communication 1973) are of the opinion that at best it represents a sub-class, perhaps a remnant of an earlier and more extensive classificatory system.

(b) Both of the members of this subgroup exhibit concord, both with adjectives and possessive adjectives. With minor exceptions, to be discussed below, the prefixes to the modifiers are the same as those used with unmodified nouns, see Table 1. With both Ngangikurrunggurr and Ngengomerl, a further class is added with modified nouns, that indicated by *ali-/yei-* for hunting weapons.

Unmodified noun classes within the Daly Family, therefore, number between four and seven. The four classes shared by all the member languages are:

1. Body parts, kinship terms and most natural phenomena.
2. Animals hunted for flesh meat.
3. Vegetables and edible plants.
4. Trees and wooden implements.

Some languages divide this fourth class into two, trees versus wooden implements. Most, but not all of the languages also have separate

classes for masculine and feminine animates. The noun classes and classificatory prefixes are set out in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1 - NOUN CLASSES (Prefixes)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Mullukmulluk	Ø-	te-	mi-	tʸæŋ-				
2. Tyeraity	Ø-	te-	miyu-	tʸuŋu-				
3. Matngala	Ø-	pinʸa-	miyi-	yim-				
3a. Yunggor	Ø-	yinʸa	ylyi-	yim-				
3b. Kamor	Ø-	pinʸa	meyi-	yim-				
4. Marithiel	Ø-	a-	mi-	yeli-	ɬar-	wati-	ŋuŋku-	
4a. Marityabin	Ø-	a-	mi	yeli-	ɬa-	ma-	munti-	
4b. MareAmmu	Ø-							
4c. Maridan	Ø-							
5. Maramanandji	Ø-	a-	mi-	yali-	ɬar-	wati-	wuŋku-	
6. Marengar	Ø-	a-	mi-	yeri-		ma-	muli-	
7. Maranunggu	Ø-	awa-	miya-	yili-		wati-	wuŋku-	
7a. Ami	Ø-	awa-	miya-	yili				
7b. Manda	Ø-	awa-	miya-	yili-				
8. Pungupungu	Ø-	metʸem-	menenʸ-	win-				
8a. Wadyiginy	Ø-	metʸem-	menenʸ-	win-				
8b. Batyamal	Ø-							
9. Ngangikurrunggurr	Ø-	a-	mi-	yer-		wa-	wur-	wu-
9a. Ngengomeri	Ø-	a-	mi-	yer-		wa-	wur-	wu-

- Class 1: Body parts, kinship terms, natural phenomena.
 2: Animals hunted for meat.
 3: Vegetable food and plants.
 4: Wooden implements, trees, weapons.
 5: Trees (as opposed to implements, wood products).
 6: Male humans.
 7: Female humans.
 8: Domesticated animals.

The classificatory and concord systems throughout the Daly Family are summed up in the following table:

Noun Classes Concord (Poss.Adj.) Concord (Adj.)

Mulluk Group				
1. Mulluk SG	+	(4) ¹	-	+
2. Daly SG	+	(4)	-	-
Brinken-Wogaity Group				
1. Brinken SG	+	(7)	+	+
2. Maranunggu SG	+	(6)	-	-
3. Wogaity SG	+	(4)	-	-
Tyemerl Group	+	(7)	+	+

TABLE 2.

While noun classification is universal within the Family, therefore, concord, is limited to the Tyemerl Group, and the Mulluk and Brinken subgroups.

11.4. PRONOUNS

All of the languages under consideration have free form subject pronouns, whose form is the same whether the accompanying verb in the sentence is transitive or intransitive. All of the languages also have bound forms expressing pronoun object, while others have separate forms for direct and indirect object.

11.4.1. Subject Pronouns

The forms of the subject pronouns are set out in the following comparative tables:

	<i>I</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>she</i>
Mullukmulluk	ḡawe	waḡaRi	yöntön	nöntön
Tyeraity	ḡa	ninʸ	yöntön	nöntön
Matngala	ḡuru	waḡaRi	kuna	ḡemu
Yunggor	yuru	yaḡaRi	yöna	- ²
Kamor	ḡuru	nunḡur	kunaru	-
Marithiel	yikin	nanʸ	naḡ	-
Maramanandji	yikin	nanʸ	naḡ	ḡiya
Marengar	yinʸ	ninʸ	naḡ	ḡa
Maranunggu	ḡanʸ	nina	nankunʸ	ḡankunʸ
Manda	ḡanʸ	nina	nunḡu	ḡa
Ami	ḡanʸ	nina	ne	ḡa
Pungupungu	ḡetʸe	kene	tʸamuyitʸ	tʸanmuyitʸ
Wadyiginy	ḡetʸe	kene	tʸamuyitʸ	tʸanmuyitʸ
Ngangikurrunggurr	ḡayi	nʸinʸi	nem	ḡayim
Ngengomeri	ḡayi	nʸinʸi	nem	ḡayim

TABLE 3.

¹The figure given is the maximal number within the subgroup or group.

²A blank indicates simply that this item was not collected and does not imply its non-existence in a particular language.

	<i>we</i> (pl.inc.)	<i>we</i> (pl.exc.)	<i>you</i> (pl.)	<i>they</i>
Mullukmulluk	yeRkit	yewöt	nukut	wÖRöntön
Tyeraity	eRkur	ewuR	nunKuR	wuRunTun
Matngala	gerömarar	gerö	nunKuR	kunuwar
Yunggor	yerömarar	yerö	yönuKuR	yönuwur
Kamor	gerömarar	gerö	nunKurayu	kunuwuru
Marithiel	gaŋkinim	kati	nati	wati
Maramanandji	gaŋkiwinYim	kati	nati	winYi
Marengar	kaŋkinim	tYer	ner	niwir
Maranunggu	kitYa	gaŋtYa	nitYa	witYa
Manda	gaŋkunenYe	gatanenYe	nitanenYe	witanenYe
Ami	gaŋkunenYe	gatanenYe	nitanenYe	witanenYe
Pungupungu	gerere	gere	nawara	parmuyitY
Wadyiginy	garare	gare	nawara	parmuyitY
Ngangikurrunggurr	nayinime	gaXuR	naxuR	wiRim
Ngengomeri	nayinime	gaKuR	nakuR	wuRum

TABLE 4.

	<i>we</i> (dl.inc.)	<i>we</i> (dl.exc.)	<i>you</i> (dl.)	<i>they</i> (dl.)
Mullukmulluk	yenki	pl-wöntöt	pl-wöntöt	pl-wöntöt
Tyeraity	yinku	pl-kunun	pl-kunun	pl-kunun
Matngala	gemö	pl-wuna	pl-wuna	pl-wuna
Yunggor	yemö	pl-wuna	pl-wuna	pl-wuna
Kamor	gemöru	pl-kuna	pl-kuna	pl-kuna
Marithiel	gaŋki	pl-pini	pl-pini	pl-pini
Maramanandji	gaŋki	pl-pi	pl-pi	pl-pi
Marengar	kaŋki	karti	narti	niwin
Maranunggu	gaŋku	pl-mata	pl-mata	pl-mata
Manda	gaŋku	pl-me	pl-me	pl-me
Ami	gaŋku	pl-mete	pl-mete	pl-mete
Pungupungu	gaŋka	pl-kenY	pl-kenY	pl-kenY
Wadyiginy	gaŋka	pl-kanYi	pl-kanYi	pl-kanYi
Ngangikurrunggurr	nayin	gaXaRi	naxaRi	wiRike
Ngengomeri	nayin	gaRku	naRku	wuRike

TABLE 5.

All singular and plural pronoun actors, it will be noted, have separate forms; in the dual, however, only the first person inclusive, with the minor exceptions to be discussed below, has a separate form. Other

dual pronominal forms normally consist of the plural form, to which a dualising suffix is added, see Table 5. There are exceptions, however, notably in the Tyemerl Group, where separate plural and dual forms exist for all persons. In this case, also, it does appear that the dual series is derivable from the plural. Marengar is the only language within the Daly Family which has truly separate dual and plural forms for all persons. It should be observed, however, that the Marengar dual forms are identical to those in Marithiel which express plural pronominal actors.

11.4.2. Direct Object Pronouns

The direct object pronoun is always bound throughout the Daly Family. As with the subject pronouns, the dual forms are directly derivable from the plural forms. For comparative purposes, the direct object forms are set out in tables, as follows:

	<i>Me</i>	<i>You</i>	<i>Him</i>	<i>Her</i>
Mullukmulluk	-arinʸ	-nunu	-nō	-ŋayɪ
Tyeraity	-arinʸ	-nintʸu	-nō	-ŋɪyɪ
Matngala	-awa	-nintʸi	-nuŋ	
Yunggor	-awa	-yintʸi	-nuŋ	
Kamor	-ŋu	-nintʸi	-nuŋ	
Marithiel	-iŋ	-inʸ	-∅	-∅
Maramanandji	-ŋ	-nʸ	-∅	-∅
Marengar	-iŋ	-inʸ	-∅	-∅
Maranunggu	-ŋanʸ	-nimpe	-na	-ŋa
Manda	-ŋanʸ	-na	-∅	-∅
Ami	-ŋanʸ	-na	-∅	-∅
Pungupungu	-ŋarka	-wuŋ	-nuŋ	-ŋetʸeŋ
Wadyiginy	See 8a.5.2.			
Ngangikurrunggurr	-ŋi	-nʸi	-ne	-ŋe
Ngengomeri	-ŋɪ	-nʸɪ	-ne	-ŋe

TABLE 6.

	<i>Us</i> (pl.inc.)	<i>Us</i> (pl.exc.)	<i>You</i> (pl.)	<i>Them</i>	<i>Us</i> (dl.inc.)
Mullukmulluk	-aRpuRu	-yÖRÖ	-nuḡkuRu	-wÖRÖ	-nuḡku
Tyeraity	-aRkuRu	-awuRu	-nuḡkuRu	-wÖRÖ	-nuḡku
Matngala	-arar	-ar	-nuḡur	-wur	-ney
Yunggor	-arar	-ar	-nuḡkur	-wur	-ney
Kamor	-arar	-ar	-nuḡkur	-wur	-ḡu
Marithiel	-ḡki...nim	-kiti	-ti	-ti	-ḡki
Maramanandji	-ḡki...nini	-kiti	-ti	-ti	-ḡki
Marengar	-ḡki...nim	-ḡkir	-ntir	-mpir	-ḡki
Maranunggu	-kinʔa	-ḡerinʔa	-ninʔa	-winʔa	-ḡaḡku
Manda	-ḡkina	-ḡarina	-nina	-wina	-ḡku
Ami	-ḡku...nenʔe	-nʔ	-na	-na	-ḡku
Pungupungu	-ḡerere	-ḡereḡ	-nawaraḡ	-pöraḡ	-ḡaḡkuḡ
Wadyiginy	See 8a.5.2.				
Ngangikurrungurr	-nin...nime	-ḡiR	-tiR	-piR/wiR	-nin
Ngengomeri	-nin...nime	-ḡiR	-niR	-wuR	-nin

TABLE 7.

The direct object pronoun normally occurs suffixed to the affix unit, except in the case of the Daly subgroup, where it also occurs suffixed to the free form verb stem. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature is that in Marithiel, Maramanandji and Ami the forms expressing second and third persons plural appear to be identical. Wadyiginy appears to be exceptional within the Family in that instead of the normal suffixed direct object pronouns, one encounters a portmanteau morpheme incorporating subject and object pronouns which precedes the verb stem proper. The specific forms are listed above, 8a.5.2.

11.4.3. Indirect Object Pronouns

Certain languages within the Daly Family exhibit indirect object pronouns, separate from the forms expressing direct object. This feature is restricted to the Tyemeri Group, and the Brinken-Wogaity Group, with the exception of Maranunggu and Pungupungu, within the Maranunggu and Wogaity subgroups respectively. The present writer has been unable to find any trace of separate indirect object pronouns in these two languages. The Mulluk Group does not exhibit separate forms for direct and indirect object. The forms used are as follows:

	<i>Me</i>	<i>You</i>	<i>Him</i>	<i>Her</i>
Marithiel	-ŋin	-mpi	-ni	-ŋ
Maramanandji	-ŋin	-mpu	-ni	-ŋ
Marengar	-ŋin	-mpi	-ni	-ŋ
Manda	-ŋi	-npa	-na	-ŋa
Ami	-ŋani	-npi	-na	-ŋa
Wadyiginy	-ŋarka	-wiŋ	-nuŋ	-ŋetʷeŋ
Ngangikurrunggurr	-ŋinti	-mpi	-ne	-ŋe

TABLE 8.

	<i>Us(pl.inc)</i>	<i>Us(pl.exc)</i>	<i>You (pl.)</i>	<i>Them</i>	<i>Us(dl.inc)</i>
Marithiel	-ŋki...nim	-kinʷ	-ninʷ	-winʷ	-ŋki
Maramanandji	-ŋki...nini	-kinʷ	-ninʷ	-winʷ	-ŋki
Marengar	-ŋki...nim	-ŋkir	-ntir	-wir	-ŋki
Manda	-ŋkinʷa	-ŋarinʷa	-ninʷa	-winʷa	-ŋku
Ami	-kinʷa	-ŋerlinʷe	-ninʷa	-winʷa	-ŋku
Wadyiginy	-ŋararaŋ	-ŋara	-nawaraŋ	-pöraŋ	-ŋaŋkuŋ
Ngangikurrunggurr	-nin...nime	-ŋir	-tir	-pir/wir	-nin

TABLE 9.

It will be seen from the above tables that Ngangikurrunggurr has separate indirect object forms only in the singular. With plural and dual pronominals, the same forms are used to express both direct and indirect object. It should be observed, also, that the Wadyiginy indirect object forms are the same as those used in Pungupungu to express direct object. Apart from these cases, there appears to be a high degree of formal similarity in the actual forms used throughout.

11.5. VERBS

11.5.1. Verb Classes

All of the languages within the Daly Family are characterised by numerous verb classes, as an examination of the outline grammars will have shown. The verb classes are each confined to certain types of action. Within the Mulluk Group, for example, there are five verb classes, as follows:

1. Actions normally performed with the hands.
2. Sitting actions.

3. Lying actions.
4. Actions performed standing up.
5. Verbs involving movement.

With the Brinken-Wogaity and Tyemerl Groups, however, in addition to the five verb classes just listed, there are up to twenty further classes, examples of which follow:

6. Verbs of projection.
7. Verbs of saying.
8. Actions of holding/catching.
9. Actions of building/destroying.
10. Cutting actions.
11. Verbs of eating/dying.
12. Verbs of perception.
13. Verbs of stimulating action.
14. Verbs involving vertical movement.
15. Verbs of arranging.
16. Verbs of sensing.
17. Verbs of burning.
18. Verbs of entry/exit.

As was described in the individual grammatical outlines, each of the verb classes takes a special set of affixes, often called 'affix units' throughout this book.

11.5.2. The Verb Phrase

The verb phrase in the Daly Family has one of the two following structures:

- a) VPhr = ± VS + Affix Unit [+ Tense + Act + Act.Type]
- b) VPhr = + V [+ Tense + Act + VS + Act.Type]

With the first type (the Mulluk Group and the Maranunggu and Wogaity subgroups of the Brinken-Wogaity Group) one finds a free form verb stem which is normally followed, although sometimes preceded, by an affix unit which contains morphemes expressing tense, number and person of the actor, and general field of action within which the particular action denoted by the free form verb is performed. It should be noted that with basically intransitive verb phrases, such as *to sit*, *to stand*, the affix unit alone may constitute an independent and complete utterance without any accompanying free form verb stem. In such cases, the morpheme which indicates 'action type', to be further discussed below, acts as the verb stem.

The second structure, normally involving a bound form verb stem, applies to the Brinken subgroup of the Brinken-Wogaity Group and the Tyemerl Group, in general terms.¹ A more detailed discussion will be found in the description of individual languages. With all of the languages in the two Groups just mentioned, while a bound form verb stem occurs in most cases, it has been noted above that here too, free form stems may occur occasionally with intransitives.

11.5.2.1. Morpheme Ordering

Within the verb phrase, the morpheme orderings vary from language to language, as follows:

Mullukmulluk ²	± VS + AU [+ Actor + Tense + Action Type]
Tyeraity	VS + AU [+ Actor + Tense + Action Type]
Matngala	VS + AU [+ Actor + Action Type + Tense]
Yunggor	VS + AU [+ Actor + Action Type + Tense]
Kamor	VS + AU [+ Actor + Action Type + Tense]
Maranunggu	VS + AU [+ Tense + Actor + Action Type]
Manda	VS + AU [+ Tense + Actor + Action Type]
Ami	VS + AU [+ Tense + Actor + Action Type]
Pungupungu	VS + AU [+ Actor + Tense + Action Type]
Wadyiginy i	VS + AU [+ Actor + Tense + Action Type] (ITV)
ii	+ AU [+ Actor/DO + VS + Tense] (TV)
Marithiel	+ AU [+ Actor + Action Type + VS + Tense]
Marityaben	+ AU [+ Actor + Action Type + VS + Tense]
Maramanandji	+ AU [+ Actor + Action Type + VS + Tense]
Marengar	+ AU [+ Actor + Action Type + VS + Tense]
Ngangikurrunggurr	+ AU [+ Actor + Tense/Action Type + VS ± Tense]
Ngengomeri	+ AU [+ Actor + Tense/Action Type + VS ± Tense]

TABLE 10.

The above table has been slightly simplified, but is valid in the vast majority of cases. It will be noted that the morpheme ordering varies from language to language. More significant is the fact that the different morpheme orderings within the verb phrase correspond exactly to the language groupings arrived at through lexicostatistical methods. In the main, it could be said that the first morpheme within the verb

¹Wadyiginy, because of the special nature of its verb morphology, has both of the verb phrase structures summarised above.

²As indicated above, 1.5., the division of the 'affix unit' into three morphemes within the Mulluk Group is highly tentative, since for several reasons it appears more economical, from a practical point of view, to make a dimorphemic division, thus: + actor + residue.

phrase normally indicates the person and number of the actor, while the position of the morphemes indicating tense and general action type varies considerably.

11.5.2.1.1. Actor Morphemes

The following is a summary table of the actor morphemes encountered in the Daly Family:

	<i>I</i>	<i>You</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>She</i>
Mullukmulluk	a-	nu-	yi-	ni-
Tyeraity	a-	nö-	yö-	nö-
Matngala	a-	anV-	IRREGULAR	IRREGULAR
Kamor	e-	enV-	IRREGULAR	IRREGULAR
Marithiel	ŋi-	kini-	ki-	
Marengar	ŋi-	kini-	ka-	
Maranunggu	-ŋa-	-na-	Ø-	Ø-
Ami	-ŋa-	-na-	Ø-	Ø-
Manda	-ŋa-	-na-	Ø-	Ø-
Pungupungu	ŋa-	kenV-	ka-	kenV-
Wadyiginy	ŋa-	kenV-	ka-	kenV-
Ngangikurrunggurr	ŋV-	yV-	kV-, wV-, dV-	kV-, wV-, dV-

TABLE 11.

	<i>We pl.inc.</i>	<i>We pl.exc.</i>	<i>You pl.</i>	<i>They</i>	<i>We dl.inc.</i>
Mullukmulluk	ar-	att-	nukut-	wut-	aŋka-
Tyeraity	ar-	att-	nukut-	wur-	aŋka-
Matngala	ar...arar	ar-	nun̩kur-	pur-	ampu-
Kamor	ari-	ar-	nun̩kur-	pör-	ampö-
Marithiel	kumpu...nim	ki...iŋki	kini...iŋki	ku...iŋki	kumpu-
Marengar	kumpu	kiri-	kini-	ku-	kumpu-
Maranunggu	-Rka-	IRREGULAR	-ra-	-nV-a-	-ma-
Ami	-Rka-	IRREGULAR	-ra-	-nV-a-	-ma-
Manda	-Rka-	IRREGULAR	-ra-	-nV-a-	-ma-
Pungupungu	ŋere-	ŋer-	kenke-	kar-	ŋaŋka-
Wadyiginy	ŋere-	ŋer-	kenke-	kar-	ŋaŋka-
Ngangikurrunggurr	ŋVmpV-	ŋV(C)-	yV(C)-	wV(C)-	ŋVmpV-

TABLE 12.

Apart from the morpheme indicating a first person singular actor, these simplified tables reveal no great uniformity of forms. Here again, however, it will be observed that the forms of the actor morphemes pattern in exactly the way the lexicostatistical classification might suggest. As will have been noted from the description of individual languages, separate dual forms, apart from first person dual inclusive, are found only within the Tyemerl Group and in Marengar.

11.5.2.1.2. *Tense Morphemes*

The morpheme indicating tense has been found most often occupying the final position within the verb phrase, although as was suggested above, the position of this morpheme is extremely flexible within the Daly Family. The principal morphemes indicating future and nonfuture are listed below:

	Nonfuture	Future
Mullukmulluk	-Ø-	-ni-
Tyeraity	-Ø-	-wun-
Matngala	-k	-ŋak
Yunggor	-k	-ŋak
Kamor	-Ø	-ŋ
Marithiel	-a	-wa
Marityaben	-a	-ni
MareAmmu	-a	-ni
Maridan	-a	-wa
Maramanandji	-a	-we
Marengar	-a	-ni
Maranunggu	ka-	ŋa-
Ami	ka-	ŋa-
Manda	ka-	ŋa-
Pungupungu	-Ø-	-p(V)-
Wadyiginy	-Ø-	-pi-
Ngangikurrunggurr	-tʷe	-ŋini
Ngengomeri	-tʷe	-pe

TABLE 13

11.5.2.1.3. *Type of Action Morphemes*

The morpheme which determines, to a large extent, the verb class, has as many different forms as the language has verb classes, as the individual grammatical outlines will have shown. It is not found occupying the

initial position within the verb phrase. Apart from this restriction, its position varies from subgroup to subgroup. Full verb paradigms have not been collected by the present writer for all the member languages/dialects of the Daly Family. Those collected and presented in the table below will, however, give an idea of the possible range of formal variation.

	<i>Hands</i>	<i>Sitting</i>	<i>Standing</i>	<i>Lying</i>	<i>Moving</i>
Mullukmulluk	-ya	-nu	-yu	-yu	-ta
Tyeraity	-ya	-nö-	-yö	-yö	-re
Matngala	-tö-	-ni-	-ta-	-ya-	-yanka
Yunggor	-tö-	-ni-	-ta-	-ya-	-yanka
Kamor	-mö-	-ni-	-ti-	-yi-	-yanka
Marithiel	-r-	-ø-	-ø-	-ø-	-n-
Maramanandji	-r-	-ø-	-ø-	-ø-	-n-
Marengar	-ri-	-ø-	-ø-	-ø-	-ni-
Maranunggu	-ra	-nan	-ma	-ya	-ni
Ami	-ra	-nan	-ma	-ya	-ni
Manda	-ra	-nan	-ma	-ya	-ni
Pungupungu		-mi	-tʸe	-ye	-pe
Wadyiginy		-mi	-tʸa	-ye	-pe
Ngangikurrunggurr	-me-	-ni-	-riŋe-	-ne-	-kati-

TABLE 14.

	<i>Projecting</i>	<i>Saying</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Building</i>	<i>Cutting</i>
Mullukmulluk					
Tyeraity					
Matngala					
Yunggor					
Kamor					
Marithiel	-nyar-	-ma-	-mun-	-ny-	-l-
Maramanandji	-nyar-	-ma-	-m-	-ny-	-l-
Marengar		-mi-	-m-	-ny-	-li-
Maranunggu	-rö	-me	-man	-nyä	-la
Ami	-rö	-me	-man	-nyä	-la
Manda	-rö	-me	-man	-nyä	-la
Pungupungu	-pati	-me			
Wadyiginy		-me			
Ngangikurrunggurr	-ni-	-me		-be	

TABLE 15.

No forms have been given in Table 15 for the Mulluk Group since this Group has been found to have only five verb classes. The ten sample verb classes reveal formally similar morphemes to indicate 'type of action' within each group, for example [-mV-] for verbs of saying throughout the Brinken-Wogaity Group (see Table 15); there are, however, considerable differences between Groups. Blanks in the Tables, apart from those for the Mulluk Group in Table 15, indicate that either the verb class was not encountered, or in the case of Wadyiginy that the peculiar nature of transitives within that language (see 8a.5.2.) precluded the normal morphemic division.

11.5.3. "Serialisation"

Perhaps the most striking feature of the verb morphology encountered within the member languages of the Daly Family, apart from the large number of verb classes, is the universal use of a double verb within most verb phrases. In all of the languages there are, in general terms, two verbs contained in any verb phrase, one a bound form, used to indicate the verb class and general type of action; such verbs may be called secondary verbs, for they indicate either the general action type or the physical position in which the action denoted by the primary verb, normally a free form, is performed; the other, the free form verb stem, indicates generally the particular action which is performed within the range delimited by the secondary or bound verb stem. While this feature is universal within the Daly Family, it has not yet been found in other languages within the 'prefixing' area. It is this, then, in addition to the almost identical verb class categories throughout the Family, which is most characteristic and distinctive, and it is this which most clearly distinguishes the Daly Family from its surrounding linguistic neighbours.

11.6. CONCLUSION

This book has attempted to present the main phonological and morphological features of the Daly Family. Some of the languages discussed are at present being studied in depth by other workers, while Maranunggu has been treated in depth elsewhere by the present writer. More than a third of the languages/dialects represented are either now extinct or on the verge of extinction. The same features have been discussed for each language/dialect and if the present study provides adequate material for a beginning to comparative linguistic studies in the Northern Territory of Australia its purpose will have been served. Depth studies in each of the languages are of course most desirable, but in view of the rather

precarious state of some of the languages it is unlikely that these will materialise before even more of the Daly River languages/dialects are lost to posterity. It is hoped, however, especially in view of the recent trends in administration that a revival of interest in Aboriginal languages on the part of the younger generations of Aborigines will prevent further languages from falling into extinction.

